

WEEKS

Origin of the Covenant Vivien

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THE
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STUDIES

EDITED BY
FRANK THILLY
Professor of Philosophy

ORIGIN OF THE COVENANT VIVIEN

BY

RAYMOND WEEKS
Professor of Romance Languages

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June, 1902

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DEDICATED TO THE CLASS IN OLD FRENCH
1901-1902

ORIGIN OF THE COVENANT VIVIEN

CHAPTER I

GENERAL REMARKS, DIFFICULTIES OF THE POEM

The *Covenant Vivien*—*Vivien's Vow*—is a poem having its origin in the heroic period of the Old French epic, although the redaction which has come down to us is not placed further back than the last third of the twelfth century. The earlier critics all considered *Aliscans* as considerably older than the *Covenant Vivien*; there has been manifested lately a tendency to assign the two poems to about the same time, with the balance of antiquity inclining slightly in favor of *Aliscans*.

The *Covenant Vivien* exists in eight manuscripts, six of which are preserved in France, one at the British Museum, and one, announced a few years ago by Rajna, in the Trivulziana Library at Milan. Five of these manuscripts are of the thirteenth century, the others of the fourteenth. The poem is written in assonance, with here and there a slight trace of rhyme. In only one manuscript, that of Boulogne, are the *laisses* terminated by the celebrated *petit vers*, so characteristic of the *geste de Guillaume*. The number of lines in the poem is a little over nineteen hundred; in other words, this is one of the shortest of French epics.

As to the literary merit of the *Covenant*, there is no small diversity of opinion. M. L. Gautier considers this the most beautiful of all the poems of the cycle.¹ In his opinion, it is the most

¹ *Épopées Françaises*, iv, p. 438; cf. G. Paris, *Manuel*, paragraph 40.

primitive in tone. To give an idea of the beauties of the epic, he says, one would have to translate it entire. M. Jeanroy, on the other hand, has shown himself the most severe of all the critics of the *Covenant*.² Without denying that the poem contains a number of scenes of rare excellence, he declares that these scenes are submerged in a sea of contradictions and absurdities. There is, according to him, vagueness and uncertainty in the action, confusion in the personages, visible imitation of other models in the characters and events. He objects to the pious homilies of Vivien, and thinks them drawn from the recital of Turpin. He censures the vow, which serves as the theme of the whole epic, and blames the poet for not recounting the death of the hero, after having so long prepared us for this catastrophe. Philip August Becker, in a work which appeared shortly before the above criticism by Jeanroy, mentions several inconsistencies in the *Covenant*, and finds the poem entirely too vague.³

We have observed that in judging the literary merits of this poem, the appreciation rendered depends, to an unusual degree, on the point of view of the critic. Perhaps this statement contains a limited censure of the poem. In spite of some defects, for one just beginning the study of Old French, no poem is preferable to this. The action is epic in nature, easy to follow. The language is unusually simple and clear, the number of obscure passages small. No student with the least spark of imagination could fail to be impressed by the sequence of tragic scenes, nor would the vagueness of the ending be without its charm, but would leave in the reader an ardent desire to follow the *Covenant* with the more famous *Aliscans*. Indeed, so admirably does this poem suit beginners, that we are convinced that a good reading edition of it is

² *Romania*, xxvi, pp. 180-188. This article ranks with the two or three best studies that have appeared concerning the legend of Orange.

³ *Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage*, Halle, 1896.

the greatest pedagogical need of our students of Old French.⁴ That the poem should produce a less favorable impression on those already masters in the subject, whose minds are distracted by the evidence of literary cabinet-making, and by the eternal question of sources, is not to be wondered at. To such a scholar, every inconsistency becomes apparent, every probable imitation of earlier epics a blemish.

The events of the *Covenant Vivien* are as follows:⁵ Vivien, who has been tenderly taken care of by his uncle, Guillaume, and his aunt, Guibor, is to be dubbed knight at Easter time. On the occasion of receiving the sword from his uncle's hand, he makes a vow never to retreat a single step from the Saracens if he have on his armor. Guillaume tries to dissuade him from so rash a vow, but in vain. He gathers together an army of ten thousand men, and in company with several of his cousins, sets out for Spain, where he successfully wages war for seven years. Nor is it a gentle war! He issues orders that no quarter be given. Men, children and women alike are slaughtered. Finally, he sends to the Emir Desramé, at Cordova, a ship-load of maimed Saracens, five hundred in number. Four men alone are left uninjured to sail the ship. The others have had their lips, nose, hands, or feet cut off, and most of them have been blinded. Desramé swears vengeance, and amasses an immense army. Vivien has time to retreat and to send word to his uncle for reinforcements, but he scorns to do either. The battle is joined under conditions hopeless for Vivien. He finally succeeds in cutting his way with a few hundred men to an abandoned castle, where they take refuge. He now consents to send a messenger to his uncle. The messenger

⁴The only printed edition of the *Covenant* is that of Jonckbloet, *Guillaume d'Orange, Chansons de Geste*, at the Hague, 1854, 2 vols. This edition is very rare, indeed almost unfindable.

⁵An account of the events of this poem is to be found in the *Manuscrits François* of G. Paris, 1840, vol. III, pp. 140-147, and in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, vol. XXII, pp. 507-511, date 1852.

rides all the way to Orange. Guillaume is able to amass an army, thanks to a treasure which his wife, Guibor, has in reserve. He sets off by forced marches. Vivien's young brother, Guichardet, had been refused permission to accompany the expedition. He starts secretly on horseback, but consents to return to Orange on the promise that his aunt will dub him knight. This is carried out, and he departs armed. After an adventure in which he shows his courage against odds, he overtakes the army, and is given permission to continue. Shortly before the arrival of the relieving army, Vivien sallies forth for shame lest his uncle should find him taking refuge in a fortified place. He is already wounded, and feels that he must die. He performs the usual deeds of prowess which fall to the lot of a hero, and encourages his men with thoughts of the service they are rendering the God of the Christians: "In Paradise God awaits us! I hear his angels singing above us! God! why may I not die at once, and pass to that joy for which I so long!" Guillaume has heard the noise of battle, and advances rapidly, accompanied by his nephew, Bertran, a warrior of great experience and courage. They divide their forces in an effort to cut through to where Vivien evidently is. They succeed finally in reaching the spot. Vivien is wounded fatally in many places. His eyes are suffused with blood; he meets his uncle without recognizing him, and strikes him a terrible blow. Guillaume thinks that he has to do with a Saracen, but before striking he says: "By God! pagan! never since the day when Charlemagne gave me my first arms have I felt such a blow! But if it please God it shall be paid for!" Vivien cries: "Hold, vassal, where you are! I cannot see you, may God see you!"⁶ But since you have mentioned Charlemagne, I know that you were born in France, and I conjure you to tell me your name!" Guillaume tells who he is, and Vivien, whose entrails are already drag-

⁶The words of this line are admirable in the Old French: "Je ne vos voi, voie vos Damedé!" (1810.)

ging upon his saddle, falls to the ground in a faint. Guillaume dismounts. Vivien comes to, and insists that his uncle bind his entrails close, lift him to the saddle, place the reins in his hand, and let him continue the fight. His uncle is forced to obey. They thus re-enter the battle, which is going against them. In a little while they become separated. Soon thereafter Guillaume and Bertran meet. They are almost the only survivors. "Let us not be discouraged!" says Bertran. "Come ride with me! You strike on one side and I on the other, that our lineage may never blush for us, and that the glory of this day may be known in all France!" The poem closes with the disappearance of these two riding side by side among the Saracens, a scene of truly epic power!

The rapidity of narration in this poem is made apparent when one reflects that by line sixty the scene of action is already transferred to Spain, and that the total poem includes, in the printed edition of Jonckbloet, only nineteen hundred and eighteen lines.

It is the purpose of this brief study to examine into the inconsistencies of the poem—for it has many—and to try to explain them by a theory which will make clear the genesis of the poem.

The following inconsistencies and difficulties have been mentioned by Mr. Becker, in his *Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage*, pp. 43, 44:

1. Vivien, we are told, has waged war for seven years in Spain, yet the Emir at the close of this period rejoices because there is peace with the family of Guillaume: lines 62-69, and 96-98, 137-142, 151-160, 168-175.

2. Vivien awaits the attack of the enemy without taking any precautions, such as informing his uncle (358-416, 673-684).

3. The poet's topography is not clear. The field of battle, especially, can be explained only with the help of that in *Aliscans*.

4. It is difficult to understand Guibor's surprise at Guillaume's defeat as related in *Aliscans* (1803-1849), if, as in the

Covenant, Girart the messenger had so recently come to announce Vivien's fearful danger (see *Covenant* 1054-1116).

M. Jeanroy also complains of the vagueness of the topography of the poem. The scene of the action, he says, is given as near the sea, yet this proximity serves little purpose in the succession of events. And the place "Archant" or "Larchant,"—no one has ever been able to identify this name with any spot in the neighborhood of Arles. Indeed, the confusion between this mysterious word and the name "Aliscans" is nowhere more complete than here. If the scene is near Arles—it is M. Jeanroy who speaks—why have we no mention of the Rhone, which is certainly not a neglectable quantity in a battlefield? What are we to think of the ancient castle in the poem, which seems put there expressly for Vivien?⁷

M. Jeanroy mentions the following inconsistencies not noted by the German critic:

5. There is confusion in the enumeration of the companions of Vivien. Certain heroes are said at the commencement of the poem to set out with him who are later found to be at Orange. Compare the lists in lines 57-60 with the passages where companions of Vivien and those who come to his rescue are mentioned, such as: 336-339, 379, 385, 519, 536, 572, 740-742, 1144-1145, 1397-1398, 1427, 1507-1509, 1543-1545, 1622, 1746-1749. It will be found on a careful examination of these passages that at least three of these heroes, Bertran, Hunaut, and Gautier, are said to be members of Vivien's expedition, and yet come later with Guillaume and the army of relief.⁸ The contradiction for two of these names can be seen most flagrantly by comparing lines 1144-1145 with lines 1397-1398 (Gautier le Tolosan, it is to be noted, appears to be the same as Gautier de Termes).

⁷ *Romania*, l. c., 182; cf. 194.

⁸ The question is still farther complicated by the statement that in the army of relief: "vii conte furent, trestuit d'un parenté." (1219.) Cf. also 1738.

6. After the arrival of the messenger, Girart, announcing the plight of Vivien, Guillaume is represented as sending into many lands to recruit an army (1128-1142). All of this requires so much time that we can with difficulty believe that Vivien can hold out.

7. If Guibor had such a large sum of money, asks M. Jeanroy, how did it happen that she had not long since placed it at Guillaume's disposal?

8. M. Jeanroy complains⁹ that the author of the *Covenant*—if we may suppose the whole poem to be the work of one hand—has made too little use of the vow (the covenant) of the opening lines; that the vow occupies a place too small and too inadequate. He contrasts the admirable service rendered by the vow in the development of the action in *Aliscans*: Vivien, horrified for a moment at the aspect of certain hideous adversaries, starts to retreat. It is in his anger at having thus, for an instant, forgotten his covenant, that he hurls himself among the enemy, and seeks and finds death. From this heroic fault he desires absolution, and this is the only sin he can remember in his dying confession.

9. We are told that no sooner have Vivien and his men taken refuge in the castle, than they begin killing their horses for food.¹⁰ This is supposed to be a trait of a prolonged siege, and seems out of place here (781-784).

10. The presence of this castle, as if put here to serve as a refuge for the hero, is suspicious.

11. The sortie of Vivien and his men seems inopportune. They have sent for aid, and if they had waited a few hours longer, it would have arrived in time. We see them, none the less, rush out of their fastness as if expressly to seek destruction (1328-1337).

12. We are both pained and surprised that Guillaume and

⁹ *Romania*, l. c., 187; cf. 195.

¹⁰ *Romania*, l. c., 188; cf. 195.

Vivien become separated after they have at last come together (1885-1895).

13. It is surprising that the death of Vivien, for which we have so long been prepared, is not related in the poem. The last mention of the hero is in lines 1894, 1895, where we are told of Guillaume that he soon loses sight of Vivien, and will not see him again until he finds him dying. The scene of this last meeting is reserved for the longer epic, *Aliscans*, to which the *Covenant*, in the opinion of the critics, is the introduction.

It is evident that, while some of the above inconsistencies are relatively unimportant, others constitute difficulties of the most serious nature. The mere presence of these greater inconsistencies is proof to the experienced critic that the poem in question is derived from mixed sources, for no poet with the genius to compose the really masterful scenes in this epic could have had a mind so ill-ordered and disproportioned as to conceive an action showing such lack of unity and reasonableness. Without stopping longer, however, to discuss this point, let us mention a few other contradictions and difficulties in the *Covenant Vivien*, for the above list does not exhaust the number.

14. We have already seen that Vivien's vow was not to retreat a single foot before the Saracens, and that the fact of this vow serves to make possible one of the most beautiful scenes in the related epic, *Aliscans*. We are surprised, therefore, to read in lines 503-505 of the *Covenant*, that the Saracens drive back Vivien's men—with whom he of course is—more than two bow shots. Similarly, if we may judge by the context, the words: *En son retrait*, in line 1474, can only mean retreat in the sense of retiring before the enemy.

15. In two passages, we read of Vivien: *Fils fu Garin* (123, 143-144), whereas, in line 1833, he says of himself: *Fils sui Garin*. If we interpret these passages according to the usual sense of these words, the first two imply that Garin is dead, the last that he is living.

16. In the lines 833-842, we learn that Vivien finds himself in a serious danger besieged by the enemy, and threatened with famine. He asks whether among his men there is not one who will dare to try to go to his uncle, Guillaume, who is at "Bordelois," or at Orange. The messenger really goes to the latter city, and that without hesitation, and finds Guillaume there (951, 958, 961). We cannot help being somewhat surprised at the apparently useless mention of "Bordelois."

17. In the passage 833-842 just mentioned, Vivien says that his uncle is at one of the above cities

A son barnage que il a assemblé.

When later, however, the messenger arrives at Orange, he finds that Guillaume has no army ready (1115-1125). This appears to be a clear contradiction.

18. When Guillaume is about to set out to relieve Vivien, the poet states of him that he will undergo a horrible danger within four days. Indeed, line 1223 states that he will be in mortal danger that very day, *i. e.*, the day of his departure. Again, we read of Guichardet, who sets out to overtake the army, that he had gone only a short distance when he met some Saracens who were sentinels of the hostile vanguard: *n'ot gaires allé*, etc. From these passages, it is apparent that the army of relief is supposed to go from Orange to the scene of battle in from one to four days. This of course is impossible, for the scene of battle is in Spain.¹¹

19. When Vivien hears the noise of the approaching army of relief, he says to his men: "I hear a great noise towards Orange! I believe that it is Guillaume!" (1455-1457). His men answer: "We see the lances appearing towards Orange! It is probably the rearguard of the Saracen army. We are lost!" No mention has been made of the Saracens having been at Orange. On the contrary, they have just landed from a fleet (345).

¹¹ Cf. *Romania*, *l. c.*, p. 188, note 2.

20. In lines 1850-1856, Vivien says that if his uncle will place him on horseback, put the bridle in his hands, and guide him into the thick of the Saracens, if he does not succeed in his efforts to vanquish the best of them,

Ainz ne fui niés Aymeri ne Guillelme.

Inasmuch as Aymeri was his grandfather and Guillaume his uncle, this line does not seem to go on all fours.

Among these difficulties, 2 and 7 amount to nothing; the same is true of a part of the objections made in 3; one may well consider 8 a matter of opinion; indeed, the majority here will probably differ from M. Jeanroy. Difficulty 16 seems unimportant. Number 4 is based on a comparison with external evidence, and might be barred in this brief examination.¹² If we were to take into account also the external or cyclic inconsistencies, this study would assume proportions too vast for a single article. It must be admitted, however, that no theory can ever explain fully the origin of the *Covenant* which does not reconcile all the difficulties, external as well as internal, created by the poem.

Very little attempt has been made by the critics to explain the above-mentioned difficulties of the *Covenant Vivien*. The critics have been busied rather in determining the position of the poem in the cycle, its relation to poems that have disappeared, and to others that still exist. The opinions of the critics, none the less, have such an intimate bearing on the poem that it would be unwise to proceed further without retracing, briefly, the history of the criticisms published concerning our poem.

¹² Of the same category is the difficulty mentioned by Jonckbloet, *Guillaume d'Orange*, vol. II, p. 55.

CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS THEORIES WITH REGARD TO THE COVENANT VIVIEN

M. Jonckbloet, the editor of the *Covenant*, thinks that when the memory of the events celebrated in the opening lines of *Aliscans* had become dim, the need was felt of an introduction to these events, and that, in this way, the *Covenant* came into existence. The poem, therefore, is less ancient, in his opinion, than *Aliscans*. He notes several apparent imitations of other chansons de geste, and says in this connection that the dimmed sight of the hero, imitated from the *Roland*, fits in rather awkwardly, since, in the longer epic, as an introduction to which the *Covenant* was written, no evidence appears of this troubled vision.

Guessard and Montaiglon,¹³ in their edition of *Aliscans*, offer no discussion of the origin of the *Covenant*, apparently not seeing the importance of this subject for a correct understanding of the greater epic.

Gautier¹⁴ does not attempt to treat the formation of the poem. Far from seeing any valuable external evidence in the *Nerbonesi* the discoverer of the Italian compilation mistakes utterly the portion of Andrea's account which has to do with the events of the *Covenant*. Nor is he the last critic to make this blunder.

G. Paris, in his *Littérature Française au Moyen Age*,¹⁵ 40, says that an ancient poem, probably in Provençal, recounted a defeat suffered by the Christians near Arles, defeat in which a hero called Vivien or Vézien, met death; that the French poets

¹³ In the *Anciens Poètes de la France*, vol. X, Paris, 1870.

¹⁴ *Les Épopées*, vol. IV, pp. 437 ss. We shall speak later of the *Nerbonesi*.

¹⁵ Generally referred to as the *Manuel*.

made of him a nephew of Guillaume by a sister, and attributed to Guillaume a considerable part in the battle; that this action is the subject of the beautiful poem, the *Covenant Vivien*; and that two continuations to this poem were written: *Aliscans*, and *Foucon de Candic*.

Ph. Aug. Becker, one of the most original of modern critics in all that relates to the cycle of Guillaume, devotes a short space to the subject of the origin and place of our poem in his *Altfranzösische Wilhelmsage*,¹⁶ pp. 43 ss. He says that the relation of the *Covenant*,¹⁷ *Aliscans*,¹⁸ *Foucon de Candic*, and the *Enfances Vivien*¹⁸ to each other constitutes a difficult problem; that it is apparent at a glance that the *Covenant* forms the centre of the group, while the second and the third epics form a continuation, and the last-named an introduction,¹⁹ that the four poems may well have been composed in the order named, only that a more ancient poem served as a basis for the *Covenant*. One who read *Aliscans*, he declares, without having read the *Covenant*, would never conceive the precedent events as this latter poem gives them.²⁰ If we are to draw a conclusion concerning the earlier epic that served as a basis for the *Covenant*, we may assert that the primitive source, from which all three related poems are derived, sang only of Guillaume, Garin, Vivien, Guischart, Guielin, and Guion. In other words, this poem did not present Bertran, nor Girart, nor Gaudin. If, continues the critic, we endeavor to discern from the common features of *Aliscans*, *Foucon*, and the *Enfances* the events of a primitive central poem, we shall have a source that differs notably

¹⁶ Halle, 1896.

¹⁷ In common with some other critics, he calls the *Covenant Vivien* the *Chevalerie Vivien*.

¹⁸ *Enfances Vivien*, edited by Wahlund and Feilitzen, Upsala and Paris, 1895.

¹⁹ Cf. the opinion of G. Paris, *Manuel*, 40.

²⁰ P. 44. This is one of the truest and most valuable remarks of the critic.

from the *Covenant*. The theme of the conjectured poem was a defeat of the Christian arms in a battle in the Archant, where Garin and Vivien perished, where Guischart, Guion, and Guielin were taken prisoner, and where Guillaume fled.²¹ Are we, he asks, to consider the *Covenant* as a *rifacimento* of the lost primitive source, or as a later addition, constructed to fill up the gap caused by the disappearance of the central poem? The latter explanation seems to him the correct one, and, like Jonckbloet, he regards the *Covenant* as an introduction to *Aliscans*, a poem written to throw light on the somewhat confused events of the latter epic. In other words, the *Covenant* explains Vivien's vow, and the attack of the Saracens, thus paving the way for the events that open *Aliscans*.

By far the most valuable discussion of the sources of our poem is that of M. Jeanroy,²² in the *Romania*. The author states that the *Covenant* is the central poem of the three,—that the *Enfances* serve as its introduction, *Aliscans* as its conclusion, but that it is the most recent of the three. He considers that certain episodes and events of the *Covenant* are derived from the *Enfances*, contrary to the opinion of M. Nordfelt.²³ He cites in this connection the placing of the scene of the action in Spain, which, he says, was taken from the *Enfances*, and only serves to embarrass the author later, when he has to transport the action to "Aliscans," which, in the mind of M. Jeanroy, as in that of the other critics, can only mean near Arles.²⁴ Again, he sees in the killing of the horses for food in the *Covenant*, evidence that the episode was derived from the *Enfances*. We shall return later to

²¹ P. 46. It will be noted that these events are much more nearly those of *Foucon* than of either of the other two poems. Mr. Becker deserves credit for the keenness of his insight in this criticism.

²² *Romania*, XXVI, pp. 180 ss.

²³ *L. c.*, 187; *cf. Enfances Vivien*, p. XXXI, or *Recueil de Mémoires présenté à G. Paris*, Stockholm, 1889, p. 95.

²⁴ P. 181, note 1; *cf.* 185 at bottom.

these points, as to several others, in which it seems to us that the critics are mistaken. M. Jeanroy closes his preliminary examination of the sources of the *Covenant* by asserting that, to obtain some idea of the primitive epic whose place the *Covenant* occupies, we must address ourselves to the *Enfances*, to *Aliscans*, to *Foucon*, or to some one of the foreign imitations or translations of the legend represented by the events of the *Covenant*.²⁵

Leaving the *Willchalm* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, which appears to be a mere translation of *Aliscans*, M. Jeanroy turns his attention to the *Roman d' Arles*²⁶ and to the *Nerbonesi*. He believes that the authors of these two works must have been inspired by a poem materially different from the present *Aliscans*, especially in what concerns the battle and Vivien's death. He classes as primitive any episode which occurs in the two works. He places the name Galice in this category, and the chateau, which has already been mentioned. He is the more ready to accept this chateau as belonging to the lost primitive epic, because the name given it by Andrea da Barberino, Monte Argiento, suggests an explanation of the mysterious word "Archant," which has so puzzled two generations of scholars.²⁷

As for the data concerning the lost poem to be derived from existing epics, M. Jeanroy finds little or nothing in the *Enfances* beyond two points which he has already mentioned.²⁸ *Aliscans*

²⁵ Pp. 188 ss. Page 193 constitutes one of the most admirable pages of contemporary criticism on this subject.

²⁶ Published by C. Chabaneau, in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1888.

²⁷ *L. c.*, 195. To treat bibliographically this word and the word *Aliscans*, would require considerable space.

²⁸ *L. c.*, 181, note 1, 185, 187, 194, 195. We gather the idea that M. Jeanroy opposes the opinion of Nordfelt, namely: that the author of the *Enfances* knew the *Covenant*, yet, in the note on p. 206, we find M. J. predicating an influence of the *Covenant* on the author of the *Enfances*, nor does he make here the reservation (as on p. 187) that the author of the *Enfances* may have drawn from the *Covenant primitif*.

to be sure, retraces somewhat the precedent events, but, inasmuch as the purpose is to modify the original source, one cannot trust to this retrospective information.²⁹ In the matter of Vivien's communion as recounted in *Aliscans*, he finds that this may have existed, at least in germ, in the lost original replaced by the *Covenant*, for here a passage in the *Nerbonesi* offers corroborative evidence. As to the *Foucon*, M. Jeanroy is of the opinion that, in giving prominence to the sons of Bovon, this poem is probably in accord with the lost source represented by the *Covenant*.³⁰

M. Jeanroy, to sum up, believes that the *Covenant* was written to take the place of a lost primitive poem, whose disappearance left a decided gap in the legend; that the author of the new poem relied somewhat on oral tradition, and drew freely on *Aliscans*, and, to some extent, on the *Enfances* and on *Foucon*. The surest traces of the primitive epic are to be found in the foreign imitations and translations that correspond to the action of the present *Covenant*.

Ph. Aug. Becker has treated the subject of the origin of the *Covenant* in two other monographs, *Der Südfranzösische Sagenkreis*, and *Der Quellenwert der Storie Nerbonesi*.³¹ We shall state briefly the conclusion of these two works, where we may expect the critic not to depart far from his previously-expressed theories. On page 39 of the first of these studies, the author says that he has endeavored to descry, in the common indications of *Aliscans*, *Foucon*, and the *Enfances Vivien*, the character of the lost central epic, and that, in his opinion, this epic differed notably from the *Covenant*. He then takes issue with M. Jeanroy for his argument that one may reach the conclusion from the foreign imitations of the legend that Vivien was once sung in poems inde-

²⁹ P. 197. For another example of this reasoning, *vid.* Becker, *Die altfranz. Wilhelmsage*, p. 45.

³⁰ *L. c.*, 198, 199. Ch. Ph. Aug. Becker, in a later work of his: *Der südfranzösische Sagenkreis*, Halle, 1898, pp. 57, 58; also pp. 25, 26.

³¹ Halle, 1898.

pendent of the William-cycle. He asserts that the author of *Aliscans* was the first to raise the personage of Vivien to the sympathetic position it has since occupied.³² Both the *Enfances* and the *Covenant* were composed, he says, only after this creation of the heroic figure of Vivien; that his legend was localized at Arles.³³ At several points in his subsequent discussion, the author speaks of the lost *Stammgedicht* which he has already predicated in common with other critics.³⁴ Mr. Becker seems more and more disinclined to see primitive traits in the *Enfances* or in the *Covenant*. The author declares in unmistakable language, that, save for the lost *Stammgedicht*, he considers the existence of older redactions of the Vivien epics as unproven.³⁵

As for the *Quellenwert der Storie Nerbonesi*, the remarks of Mr. Becker touching the subject in hand will be clearer if we postpone them until later, when we shall come to speak of the account of Andrea da Barberino. Similarly, it will be well to put off a discussion of a dissertation by A. F. Reinhard: *Die Quellen der Nerbonesi*.

To sum up these opinions, the critics are agreed that the *Covenant Vivien* does not exist in its primitive form; that it was written to replace a lost epic that sang of a fearful defeat of the Christian arms, where Vivien, and perhaps Garin, met death, defeat in which Guillaume also took part. The poet who wrote the *Covenant* based his work on oral tradition concerning the primitive poem, already lost, and on *Aliscans*; to some extent, also, on the *Enfances* in a more primitive form, and on *Foucon de Candie*. The *Covenant*, was composed as an introduction to *Aliscans*, and perhaps to *Foucon* as well, while the *Enfances* was written to serve as an introduction to the *Covenant*.

³² *L. c.*, p. 40.

³³ *Cf.* Jeanroy, *l. c.*, p. 196, note 2, and p. 201.

³⁴ Pp. 57, 58, 73, 75, 78 of the *Sagenkreis*. *Cf.* M. Jeanroy, *l. c.*, 193, 194. *cf.*, by Mr. Becker, *Zeitschrift f. Romanische Philologie*, XXII, p. 130.

³⁵ P. 42.

CHAPTER III

TESTIMONY OF THE STORIE NERBONESI WITH REGARD TO THE COVENANT VIVIEN

It will be necessary at this point to resume, in a few paragraphs, the events of the *Nerbonesi*³⁶ that have to do with the *Covenant*.³⁷

Namieri (that is Aïmer) left Paris for Spain after the crowning of Louis. He took with him his nephew, Vivien, who soon obtained permission from his uncle to make a foray into "Portugal." Namieri grants him ten thousand men, and urges him to return immediately with the booty. Vivien and his little army pass through Asturia, and at a point not far from the frontier of Portugal, he arrives at a river, called the Arga. On this stream is a city, Galicia by name, which he succeeds in taking.

³⁶ Edited by Isola, 2 vols., at Bologna, 1877-1888. This vast compilation appears to have been written about the year 1400, at or near Florence, by Andrea da Barberino, as his name is generally cited. The work recounts, in a sympathetic and often dramatic manner, the fortunes of the epic family of Aymeri de Narbonne. Andrea translated the book from the French, he tells us. Indeed, we have a number of other works from him, all treating epic events, and most of them coming evidently from French models. Andrea is said to have been a singing master, and to have possessed landed estates. He certainly had access to a large number of French epics, and very probably owned many manuscripts himself. Few as are the facts known about him, his personality speaks clearly in his works, and a more delightful study could hardly be proposed than an examination of the personality and literary methods of the old master. The nearest approach to this, is in Rajna's *I Reali di Francia*, Bologna, 1872, vol. 1, pp. 283, 330; see especially pp. 313 ss. See also article *Barberino*, in *Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age*, by Ulysse Chevalier.

³⁷ This recital is found in vol. I, pp. 461-518; vol. II., pp. 145-165.

He is now unable to return, being besieged by the inhabitants of the country. He succeeds in repelling and scattering his enemies, and, in preparation for a new attack, builds a castle on a peak near the city of Galicia. This castle he provides with provisions, with a garrison, and all that is necessary to sustain a siege. Some say that he swore never to abandon this castle until his death.

Vivien's expectation that he would again be assailed in Galicia was not deceived. The Saracens gathered from many lands. King Isram di Ramesse (our Desramé) sent two of his sons with an army; Tibaut, who was then besieging Orange against his arch-enemy Guillaume, sent his brother, l' Alpatrice (our l' Aupatri), with fifty thousand men. There came also, from Africa, Maltribol, a Saracen of huge stature, destined to become one of Vivien's most bitter adversaries. The siege of Galicia lasted a year. During this time, the usual feats of heroes were performed, those winning greatest glory being the Alpatrice, Maltribol, and Vivien. At the expiration of the year, Vivien held a council of war, and decided to cut his way, with the flower of his troops, to the castle called Monte Argiento. To facilitate this plan, they set fire to the city at night, and during the confusion occasioned by this among the enemy, they cut their way through the hostile camp, and, a thousand men strong, entered Monte Argiento. The remainder of Vivien's men he had urged to try to escape by a valley. A number of them did so, and thus the news of Vivien's predicament reached Namieri. The Saracens, angered that their prisoner should have found safety in the castle, surrounded it closely on all sides.

Namieri sends the news of Vivien to his uncles, but none of them comes to help. However, the two sons of Bovon, Guidone and Guicciardo, together with Guiscardo, Vivien's brother, and Guidolino, son of Arnaldo, join Namieri in an expedition to rescue the besieged hero. The army of Namieri is unable to raise the siege, but Guiscardo succeeds in penetrating into the castle, to the joy of his brother. Namieri, repulsed, returns to "Spain." The

siege of Monte Argiento drags on year after year, enlivened only by the occasional feats of arms of the contesting parties. Vivien has repeated encounters with the Alpatrice and with Maltribol.

Finally, Namieri forms another army to attempt the rescue of his nephew. He has still with him the three nephews mentioned in the first expedition. The army of Namieri is joined by his nephew, Bertran, who has gone to Paris from Orange (also besieged), and who, having slain at the court a knight opposed to the relief of Orange, has fled secretly, and arrives in Spain hoping to be able to persuade Namieri to help relieve Orange.³⁸ Counting Bertran and two sons of Namieri who take part in the expedition, there are six cousins.

This second attempt succeeds. After a severe battle, in which there are several formidable duels between the contesting leaders, the Saracens retire, a portion of them, with the Alpatrice, going to Orange in order to help on the siege of that city against Guillaume. When the victory has been won, Bertran relates the fearful pass to which Orange has been reduced by nearly seven years of siege, and everyone cries: "To Orange!"—everyone save Vivien, who does not wish to abandon Monte Argiento to the enemy. He consents to go, however, on condition that they all aid him later to conquer a realm for himself in Ragona (Aragon). Before departing, they destroy Monte Argiento, that it may not fall into the Saracens' hands. The same thing is done in the *Enfances Viv.*, Ms. in prose, l. 2404.

Such are the events of a poem which certainly once existed, as proven by independent testimony, and which was probably called *Les Enfances Vivien*. This epic, whether originally independent of the cycle of Guillaume or not, came to serve as an *incidence* in the longer and more famous poem, *Le Siège d'Orange*. All that now remains of the *Siège* is incorporated in *Aliscans*, where the place at which this *incidence* of the *Enfances*

³⁸ Pp. 440-461.

Vivien was soldered on is still apparent. For ease of reference, we shall call this source (the primitive *Enfances Vivien*), B, reserving A for the lost *Siège*.

As has already been stated, Vivien's friends promised him that, the siege of Orange once raised, they would aid him to conquer the realm of Ragona in Spain and the lands of Aliscante. This promise is executed. The expedition proves successful, and Vivien is in due time installed as king of the above-mentioned countries. He has been aided by Guillaume and six cousins who took part in the events narrated under B. For convenience, we shall refer to the events of this expedition as C.

It is at this point³⁹ that begins the action of another poem, which, according to the theory we shall develop, enters into the present *Covenant Vivien*. Here are the events of this other poem:

Vivien was at Tortosa, when he learned that Tibaut was gathering an immense army to move against him and recover the captured lands. He sent word to Guillaume of the threatened invasion, and the latter set out for Barcelona with an army of fifteen thousand men. Vivien, meantime, made ready at Tolosa to withstand the enemy. Tibaut, smarting under the wrongs inflicted by the family of Guillaume,—the loss of Guibor his wife, of Orange, and of many cities—prepared the most formidable attack that had ever been directed against any country within recent times. He brought with him twenty-two kings, including the bravest of Spain, of Africa, and of the Orient, and a number of uncrowned heroes no less formidable. Among these latter were Maltribol and the Alpatrice, old enemies of Vivien. The number of these kings and greater heroes combined appears to be thirty.

The battle is joined near Tortosa. The smaller army of Vivien is overwhelmed by the huge divisions of the Saracens. Vivien sounds the retreat, but discovers an army between him and

³⁹ Vol. II, pp. 145-165.

Tortosa. Assailed on three sides at once, the force of the Christians is soon reduced to a few thousand men. Vivien sends a pressing message to his uncle at Barcelona. His brother, Guiscardo, and his cousin, Guido, are taken prisoners. He takes position with the remnant of his army on a hill, where he hopes to be able to hold out two days or more, until aid may come. At length, however, seeing a fresh division approaching from the rear, nearly all his knights having been slain, he realizes that all is lost. We here quote from the Italian a somewhat striking passage.⁴⁰ "Quando Viviano vide venire i nimici di sopra, conobbe non avere più riparo, e ristretto con tutta sua gente, si baciarono tutti in bocca, e raccomandaronsi a Dio, e si comunicarono colla terra, l'anime loro rendendo di buono cuore a Dio, Viviano confortandogli che infino alla morte si difendessino francamente." In the mêlée that followed, Vivien and Maltribol fight, and each slays the other.⁴¹ This, then, was the end of the celebrated *Vivien l'alousé*,⁴² also called *Vivien d'Aleschans*.⁴³ His entire band was exterminated. Tibaut showed great honor to the body of his dead foe, and had it interred in a church with Christian rites.

The messenger, Guicciardo (Girart), reached Guillaume at Barcelona. Guillaume set out before the next dawn, and, with Guicciardo as guide, rode by forced marches towards the battle-field. They rode all day and a part of the ensuing night. They started on early the following morning, and by the third hour of the day, were drawing near to the region of the struggle. However, they were destined never to reach the hill where Vivien had long since been killed, for their arrival having been announced to

⁴⁰ P. 158.

⁴¹ P. 159.

⁴² *Aliscans*: 684, 5306, edition Guessard; *Covenant*: 106, 283, 291, 827, 1821, 1894.

⁴³ *Enfances Vivien*, line 5, save in Ms. of Boulogne.

Tibaut, the whole Saracen force met the approaching Christians, and soon surrounded them. Guillaume was obliged to have half of the army, under Guicciardo, face in one direction, while he with the other half faced in the opposite direction. Guicciardo, unhorsed by no less an adversary than Tibaut himself, was forced to surrender, and his men were hewn to pieces.

The Saracens then threw all their divisions against Guillaume, who in a short time saw his last remaining forces perish. He then began to flee, and managed to escape through a valley. The enemy, of course, pursued him. He was obliged many times to face about and fight for his life. After a number of these duels and many hairbreadth escapes, he reached Orange, alone and wounded. The chase had lasted for eight days.⁴⁴ We shall refer to the events thus summarized, as D.

These are the pertinent events utilized, according to our theory, to combine with those of B in the formation of the present *Covenant Vivien*. The poem D thus utilized is now lost, save in so far as parts of it may be preserved in the present *Aliscans*, or in the *Covenant*. It may have borne the name of *Aliscans*. According to our theory the present *Covenant* is a blending of the sources B and D, of which the first ended favorably for the hero, the second disastrously.

Before proceeding to examine this recital of events with regard to the question in hand, it would be well to state the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Becker and Mr. Reinhard in the two works mentioned above.⁴⁵ The first-named critic discusses the source which we are to call B, on pages 30-35 of his book. He says that in this section of his account, as in those immediately following, Andrea has treated his originals with the utmost freedom; he has drawn from them only here and there a motif, and,

⁴⁴ According to other passages, ten days: pp. 185, 195.

⁴⁵ *Der Quellenwert der Storie Nerbonesi*, Halle, 1898; *Die Quellen der Nerbonesi*, Altenburg, 1900.

indeed, occasionally he has taken two or three times the same motif; in the thread of his story, he has followed a plan of his own: namely, to present Orange and Spain side by side as the scene of the action. In doing this, he preserves, to be sure, the spirit of the cycle of Narbonne; in many ways, however, he allows himself geographical liberties and free combinations, which have no warrant in the French epics.

We remark this, first, he says, in the episode (the one we denominate B) whose hero Vivien is. This episode reposes clearly on the *Covenant Vivien*, yet does not prepare for the disaster of Aliscans, but is conducted parallel with the siege of Orange, and furnishes, in some measure, an explanation for the failure to relieve Guillaume, as it paves the way for his rescue. Andrea, then, has utilized the *Covenant*, but he has transported its scene of action to Portugal, and out of a single battle, *i. e.*, the battle of Aliscans, has woven the history of a long campaign. Instead of the disaster which closes the French poem, he presents a victorious ending. In transporting the scene of action to Spain, Andrea may have been influenced by the *Enfances Vivien*.⁴⁶ He has made of the "Archant" of the original, the name of a castle in which the hero takes refuge, deriving this castle evidently from the *Covenant*. In the manner of death which Andrea ascribes to Aïmer—death from poisoned arrows—Mr. Becker sees evidence of imitation of the *Mort Aymeri*; in the fact that Garin, Guibert, and Aïmer lose their lives at the deliverance of Orange, evidence that the author drew from *Foucon*, where we learn that these three are dead.

Of the source which we have called D, Mr. Becker says that the elements of this account are derived from the *Covenant* and from *Aliscans*, and are made to pave the way for *Foucon de Candie*. Andrea learned, from the summary at the beginning of

⁴⁶With regard to Andrea's having known the *Enfances*, Suchier is not of the same opinion as Mr. Becker: *Les Narbonnais*, Paris, 1898, vol. II, p. XXXII, note 2, nor is Mr. Reinhard, *l. c.*, p. 84.

Foucon, that Vivien had died in a bloody battle, that Guichart, Girart, and Gui had been taken prisoners, that Guillaume had fled to Orange. He endeavors to narrate these events filling out the picture from hints in the *Covenant* and in *Aliscans*. It is almost needless to remark, says Mr. Becker, that the difference between Andrea's account and that of his sources must not be taken to indicate that he utilized other versions of those sources than what we possess. If he leaves Bertran, for instance, at Orange, it is because that is the best thing he could do with him, since, by reason of desiring to follow the recital of *Foucon*, he could neither make him flee with Guillaume nor be taken prisoner. The conclusion that Andrea utilized other versions of the French poems is the less tenable, because at times many traits of the originals which are not found in their place, appear elsewhere, as, for instance, the "seven cousins," who, in the Italian account, take part in the relief of Vivien and of Guillaume (*i. e.*, in the source B), but who do not appear here as they should.

Mr. Becker sums up his conclusions at the end of his work,⁴⁷ and closes with the following remarkable statement: "We have asked the question: What worth the *Storie Nerbonesi* may have for the early history of the Old French epic? We answer: 'None!'"⁴⁸

The dissertation of Mr. Reinhard, above mentioned, is of no small value, although showing at times traces of insufficient reflection on the part of the author. Again and again his remarks show a genuine common sense, coupled with due moderation in statements made. On pages 31-33 of the dissertation will be found, in parallel columns, a summary of the events of source B,

⁴⁷ P. 50.

⁴⁸ In the *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, which was written as a companion piece to the present work, Mr. Becker has expressed the same opinions, although in a more moderate tone. See, for instance, pp. 10, 11, 34, note 3, 38, 39, note 3.

side by side with the portions of the *Covenant* which seem to Mr. Reinhard to correspond.

The superiority of this table over that of Gautier,⁴⁹ indicates the vast advance that has been made in the understanding of Andrea's work during the last twenty years. Gautier saw the account corresponding to the *Covenant*, in Book V, of the *Narbonesi*, the part that tells of the conquest of Vivien, Guillaume, and others of the family of Ragona and the lands of Aliscante. Other critics are right in asserting that this part of the story of Andrea has nothing to do with the events of the *Covenant*.

On page 73 of the *Quellen*, the author says that Andrea's general plan forced him to make a decided change in the action of the *Covenant*, and, true it certainly is that the author's table does not indicate any remarkable kinship between the poem and the prose. Namieri, he says, has been fighting for a long while in Spain, hence Vivien must be brought into relations with him—just why this is, the author does not state. Inasmuch as Namieri was to betake himself to Spain after the crowning of Louis, and since Vivien was to accompany him (who decided that things had to be this way, we should like to know!), the young hero had to be knighted at the coronation feast. Vivien's vow is lacking in the Italian account, continues the critic, because such a vow has no sense in it anyway.

The long period of Vivien's stay in Portugal is due, we are told, to Andrea's desire to fill out the time until Vivien and his associates are to hurry to the relief of Orange.

In the epic, Guillaume hastens to the aid of Vivien; this is impossible in Andrea's account, for Guillaume is besieged himself. Besides, Vivien is nearer to Namieri's field of operations than to Guillaume's.

The critic shows how, in a number of cases, the action of the *Storie* is arranged more logically than that of the poem.

⁴⁹ *Epopées*, IV., pp. 44, 45.

In common with all other critics, the author speaks of the battle that closes the *Covenant* as "the battle of Aliscans."

The events of the source D are found on pp. 35, 36 of the dissertation, and in the opposite column are placed the events of *Foucon*. We are surprised not to see *Aliscans* mentioned here instead of *Foucon*; the reason given is that the events in question may be joined as naturally to the one poem as to the other. Gautier considered these events as derived rather from *Aliscans*.⁵⁰ Mr. Reinhard seems to be really of the same opinion, for he says in his remarks on this part of Andrea's story that the chapters in question correspond to the opening lines of *Aliscans*.⁵¹

In what the critic says of the episodes of Baudus and Acchin in the *Storie*: that they are not a creation of Andrea's, but are drawn from his originals, he certainly is right.

A few words further with regard to the statements of the two critics mentioned. The arguments of Mr. Becker are little more than assertion. He says, for instance, of the events of B, that Andrea has treated his originals with great freedom. We are tempted to ask how he knows what the originals were. It will not do to assume, as he does, that these originals were the poems which still exist, and as they still exist. Again, he asserts that Andrea follows a plan of his own in presenting Orange and Spain side by side as scenes of action; that he takes constantly liberties, geographical and otherwise, with his originals; that the part of his story under discussion, although reposing evidently on the *Covenant*, does not prepare the way for the disaster of Aliscans; that out of a single battle, he has woven a long war; that instead of the defeat of the *Covenant*, he presents to us a victory. But all this is simple assertion. The impression left upon us by Mr. Becker's study, is that he began it, having decided, *a priori*, that the account of Andrea was worthless, as far as indicating early redactions is

⁵⁰ *L. c.*, p. 45.

⁵¹ *Quellen*, p. 74.

concerned. There is, to be sure, one argument in this part of the study. The author says that Andrea knew from *Foucon*, which was the model he was following in general, that Garin, Guibert, and Aïmer were dead at the time of the action of *Foucon*, hence he lets them die at the battle for the deliverance of Orange. This argument, however, is not of full force, for the same passage of *Foucon* states that Ernaut, too, was dead. Why did Andrea not kill him also in the same battle? It may be here added, by the way, that we believe that line 5583 of *Aliscans*: "Querés Guillaume et Bernart et Buevon," gives correctly the names of the brothers alive at the time in question, and is undoubtedly a primitive reading.

As for the statement made that Andrea follows a plan of his own, in presenting before us constantly Orange and Spain as the scenes of action, something, too, is to be said. As a matter of fact, there is internal evidence in *Aliscans* itself to show the existence of the expedition into Spain or Portugal in the ancient sources whence *Aliscans* comes. We read in this poem (lines 2596-2603) that Aymeri and Ermengard arrive at court with four of their sons,

Mais n'i ert pas Aïmers li caitis:
En Espaigne est entre les Sarasis
U se combat et par nuit et par dis.

Furthermore, the relief of Orange is planned; the relieving army marches, and when its divisions appear under the walls of the city, we are amazed to see arrive Aïmer. No mention has been made of his having been informed (lines 4232-4250). From a description of the men Aïmer leads (4914-4920), we learn that they were very brave, but that their shields were broken and bent, their haubercs blackened with sweat, their helmets filled with dents, their swords unburnished. They had many times attacked the pagans in Spain. These men are evidently from the band of Aïmer and Vivien, when these leaders marched to the relief of Orange after the release of Vivien, as narrated by Andrea. Since many of these men were probably among those so long besieged

with Vivien, their presence lends to the entire band the desperate appearance as given above. As for the informing of Aïmer, this has been done by Bertran, as related by Andrea. In short, *Aliscans* still shows the stump where a bough was once lopped off, that bough being an *incidencce*, the poem which we have indicated by B.

With regard to the source D, the critic says that the action here is drawn from *Aliscans*, the *Covenant*, and *Foucon*; that the author learned from the opening lines of *Foucon* that Vivien had perished in a fearful battle, that Guichart, Gui, and Girart had been taken prisoners, that Guillaume had fled for his life to Orange. These events he filled out from hints in *Aliscans* and the *Covenant*. Bertran, we are told, is represented as having been left at Orange, because according to *Foucon*, he neither was taken prisoner, nor fled with Guillaume, *etc.* These again are simple assertions. Mr. Becker himself has recognized that the primitive source on which all the poems we are discussing is based, represents the three cousins above mentioned as the prisoners.⁵² Why deny without proof that Andrea may have drawn his information from this source, as did *Foucon*? Again, *Foucon* does not say that Guillaume did not succeed in reaching Vivien. The critics agree that primitively this was the state of the legend.⁵³ Andrea so presents it, yet, not having derived this from *Foucon* and the two other epics, which represent Guillaume as arriving before the death of the young hero, where can Andrea have found this, save in some primitive source? As for Bertran's presence at Orange, and not on the battlefield, we have elsewhere attempted to show that this was the primitive state of the legend.⁵⁴ Another point: If Andrea had adopted the events as narrated at the beginning of *Foucon*, why did he not present the death with Vivien of Guerin or Garin, who is there said to have perished with Vivien? This Garin may have been Vivien's father.

⁵² *Altfr. Wilhelmsage*, p. 46.

⁵³ *Romania*, XXVI, p. 199: Rolin, *Aliscans*, p. 15, note 5.

⁵⁴ *Child Memorial Volume*, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1896, pp. 127 ss.

If this be true, Andrea, in having him die at Orange, has followed neither *Foucon*, nor *Aliscans*, nor the *Covenant*. He could have had this hero perish as in *Foucon*, without contradicting anything in the two other epics.

Mr. Reinhard, in speaking of B. says that Andrea has altered the whole action of his recital, because his story represented Aïmer as occupying Spain as the scene of his exploits. He reasons evidently that because the *Covenant* represents Vivien as going to Spain, the Italian compiler found it well to subordinate his adventures to those of his uncle Aïmer. This suggestion, however ingenious, presupposes in Andrea a rage for rearrangement really astonishing! We are to believe that, translating originals which fitted into each other and doubtless made a symmetrical sequence of events, the translator went to the trouble of turning everything topsy-turvy to avoid sending Vivien into Spain independently of Aïmer!⁵⁵ To make this theory at all feasible, it would be necessary to show that the author was such an ardent partisan of the glory of Aïmer, that he altered his entire story in order to rob Guillaume to the profit of his brother! *On n'est pas si malin que cela!*

Futhermore, if Mr. Reinhard is to be taken at his word in another passage, he subscribes to the whole version of the *Nerbonesi*. On page 119 of his excellent study, he says that the lines 4929-4931, contain a mention of Bertran.⁵⁶ This is the first link in a chain that reaches a long way. The Old French poem represents Bertran as a prisoner of the Saracens at this very moment. His presence here is in strict accord with the account of the *Nerbonesi*, and implies: 1. that he was not a prisoner; 2. that he, and not Guillaume, had gone to court for aid; 3. that, in consequence, he, and not Guillaume, was the protagonist in the masterly scene

⁵⁵ The placing of these two heroes in Spain was not the invention of Andrea, but is certified to by a large number of passages in Old French.

⁵⁶ Mr. Reinhard evidently drew this citation from the *Romania*, XXVIII., p. 128.

at court; 4. that he went to Spain to bring Aimer,—in short, that the recital of Andrea is more primitive than that of *Aliscans*. In our opinion, the objections of the two critics mentioned are specious and of no value whatever.

CHAPTER IV

THEORY WITH REGARD TO THE COVENANT VIVIEN

We have seen that the *Covenant* contains a large number of inconsistencies which no theory thus far advanced suffices to explain. The existence of these inconsistencies indicates, in sound criticism, that the poem reposes on various sources difficult of reconciliation. For, it is inconceivable that a poet, creating this epic in its entirety, should have allowed such defects to subsist. This is above all improbable in the literature of France, which already, at the early epoch of which we treat, was conspicuous for those admirable qualities of common sense and logic that have given to it a unique position among the literatures of the world. Nothing is more characteristic of the Old French epics than their directness of style and narration, their reasonableness of plot and action. The Frenchmen of this remote period, like their descendants of to-day, *aimaient à y voir clair*. Then, too, these epics show conspicuous evidence of that true feeling for form and symmetry without which no literature can be of conspicuous merit. One who doubts the superiority of France in this respect in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, need only compare the French originals of that time with their foreign translations and imitations. In these, he will observe a heavy and turgid mode of thought, a floundering style, a lack of feeling for form and proportion, a sentimentality, which find no warrant in the French originals, so direct, simple, and clear.

We believe that the *Covenant Vivien* is the result of the blending of two separate poems, whose subject-matter is related by Andrea da Barberino in the narrations which we have denominated B and D. This theory, be it noted, means nothing more nor less

than a justification of the *Nerbonesi* in all that relates to Orange and to Aïmer. For, it will be noted, the events of D repose on those of B, which in turn presuppose A, the long siege of Orange, which presupposes the taking of Orange in the manner recounted by Andrea. All critics have noted, some with admiration, the symmetrical and rational enchainment of events in the story of Andrea, but no one seems seriously to have asked if the old amateur may not have found his sources as he presents them. The existing epics treating of these events have blinded the critics. They admit, indeed, for the most part, that these epics have undergone alterations, that they once presented a more primitive legend. Why is it, *a priori*, impossible that Andrea, a Florentine living at the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, a man of some leisure and means, passionately devoted to the epic matter of France, should have known and utilized sources now long since disappeared? It is not infrequent to find preserved in a foreign land remnants of a literature or of an art which the rapid tide of fashion and popularity has long since rendered antiquated in the mother country.

Because of the concatenation just mentioned in the story of Andrea, it is difficult to discuss isolatedly any part of his account. Desiring, for instance, to establish a connection between the *Covenant* and the sources summarized under B and D, we are at once embarrassed by the organic connection between B and D and precedent events. How can we speak of B without speaking of A? And how can we properly treat of A without treating of the *Prise d' Orange*, not to mention the *Charroi de Nîmes*? Indeed, to discuss in due manner the briefest of these legends would require a volume. In the present inquiry, we shall limit ourselves to giving a brief account of A (the *Siège*), together with a glance at the subsequent events, in order to place clearly before the reader's mind one section of the vast frieze carved by the hand of Andrea da Barberino.

After Guillaume seized Orange and possessed himself of the wife of the lord of the city, Tibaut, the Saracen monarch, formed a large expedition to obtain vengeance.⁵⁷ He laid siege to the city, swearing to take it at no matter what cost of time and treasure. Guillaume defended himself as best he could. Years passed, and famine wrought havoc in Orange. At length his nephew, Bertran, who was with him, offered to go to France for aid. He succeeded in escaping, and went first to his other uncles, urging them to go to court on a given day in order to support his request for help. This programme was carried out. At first the king refused, but was persuaded by the uncles of Bertran and by the queen, Guillaume's sister. An enemy of the family of the Narbonnais, Giulimieri by name, having dared to attempt to dissuade the king, Bertran attacked him, and slew him before the eyes of all the court. Because of this, Bertran fled secretly from Paris, and hastened to Spain, to find the only one of his uncles whom he had not yet visited, Aïmer. At this point is *incidenced* into the narration the story which we have called B: the expedition into Portugal of Vivien, who had accompanied his uncle Aïmer to Spain. The events of this *incidence* have already been told: Vivien's departure with ten thousand men; his taking of Galicia;⁵⁸ his being besieged; the siege transferred to the castle of Monte Argiento; the first attempt of Aïmer to relieve his nephew; the second attempt, in which Bertran, arrived from Paris, takes part; the success of the expedition; the march of the army of relief, together with Vivien and his companions, to Orange; their share in the delivery of the city. We have also related how Vivien's friends, to persuade him to abandon his possessions in Portugal, promised to aid him to conquer the lands of Aliscante in Ragona, when Orange had been relieved; how this promise was fulfilled; how later the

⁵⁷ N., vol. I, p. 416.

⁵⁸ With regard to this word, which seems certainly to have belonged to the primitive legend of our hero, see the *Enfances Vivien*, the *Roman d'Arles*: cf. *Romania*, XXVI, p. 194.

Saracens under Tibaut attacked Vivien near Tortosa;⁵⁹ how Guillaume, who had gone to Barcelona to be near in case of need, arrived too late; how Vivien was slain, his brother, Guichart, and his cousins, Gui and Girart, taken prisoner; how Guillaume, defeated in turn, fled alone from the field of battle, and was pursued clear to Orange, which was immediately besieged. For convenience, we shall call the events of the *Siège*, A; those of the *incidence*, B; those of the conquest of Ragona, C; those of the death of Vivien and the flight of Guillaume, D. According to our theory, the *Covenant* was formed, in the main, by the fusion of B and D.

We have elsewhere stated some of the reasons which make one believe that the siege described by Andrea is indeed the famous long siege known to have been sung formerly in an epic poem.⁶⁰ This poem has disappeared, save certain parts which were incorporated in the present *Aliscans*.⁶¹ The disappearance of the *Siège*—that is, of A—occasioned that of the *incidence*, B. One of the first steps in the dissolution of A was doubtless the substitution of Guillaume as messenger instead of Bertran.⁶² In the new poem that was rising on the ruins of A, Bertran no longer went to court as the messenger, hence the link which bound, at its beginning, B to the parent poem, A, disappeared. Bertran could no longer slay the councillor before the king, could no longer go to Spain for Aïmer, and return with him and Vivien to the relief of Orange. It is only by accident that some scribe allowed to survive the appellation of Bertran—*le timonier*—in the passage, transferred from A to *Aliscans*, where we see the mustering of the forces from France come

⁵⁹ A reference to this attack and victory is to be found in *Foucon*, p. 83. With regard to Tortosa, M. Jeanroy makes a mistake in his article: *l. c.*, p. 193.

⁶⁰ *Child Memorial Volume*, pp. 135 ss.

⁶¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 367-369.

⁶² *Child Memorial Vol.*, pp. 127-150.

to relieve the beleaguered city. This passage, of the greatest value for the critic, remains to-day the most irrecusable single line in *Aliscans* to support the testimony of Andrea.⁶³ By the elimination of Bertran (the link that bound the beginning of B to A), B was left hanging loose, so to speak, attached only at one end to the fragments of A, which, with other matter, were slowly shaping themselves into a new epic. Nor could B long survive, being a mere *incidence*, attached, and that loosely, at one end only. The events of B no longer had any intelligent bearing on the action of the new poem. Granting that those before whom the new song was sung had known anything of the adventures of Aimer and of Vivien in Spain, and of their gallant service for the relief of Orange, how could their arrival now be motivated? It would have been necessary to create a new messenger, a new machinery for the introduction of needless actors upon an already crowded stage. The branch was allowed to slough off, but we can still see the scar on the parent trunk. In what has been conserved of the ancient A in the present *Aliscans*, there is still fortunately visible the point at which B began, and that at which it ended; we refer to the valuable passages of *Aliscans* cited on page 27 of this article. As for the slaying of the king's councillor, this episode is preserved in the *Enfances Vivien*, 2820, where it has none too natural an air, especially in view of Bertran's tender age in this poem,—from twelve years (Ms. 1448, verse 2812), to fifteen years (see other Mss). That this episode is really the one recited in the *Storie*, seems more certain because of further evidence in lines 2856-2857, *cf. Nerbonesi*, I, p. 461: "La vendetta del morto fu sopra a Beltramo giurata."

Once cut loose from the parent poem, the *incidence* was destined to disappear, to be fused with some other poem, or to maintain an independent existence. This last, in view of its very nature

⁶³ See *Romania*, XXVIII, p. 128, the first mention, to our knowledge, of this invaluable passage.

as indicated in the name *incidence*, could hardly happen. Nor do we believe that B disappeared, but rather that it united with the source D to form a new poem.

With D, the case was somewhat different, and, indeed, more favorable, it would seem, to conservation. In the first place, the poem in question was not an *incidence*, but had an independent existence. In the second place, it contained scenes too tragic and too profoundly popular ever to be lost. The imagination of the people was struck by the awful scenes of the fated field of Aliscans—the death of the young hero, the arrival too late of aid, the defeat of Guillaume, his solitary flight—and these scenes could not well have disappeared. It is, in general, a mistake, we think, to suppose that any considerable number of beautiful scenes was allowed to disappear from the French epic. One great law—the striving to preserve the beautiful—is observable in all the changes and disintegrations of the virile period. If any considerable number of fine scenes was lost, this was due to a deterioration in the public taste, a change which marked the close of the epoch of glory.

What inherent reasons, if any, were there for the preservation by fusion of B and D? The two poems sang the same hero: their stage of action was the same,—Spain; in both the rescue of the hero was attempted by an uncle; in both poems the hero was accompanied by a group of cousins—all of those in D playing a rôle in B. The real reason, however, is that D, destined to be preserved in some form, as we have said, because of its literary merits, required an introductory poem which should make known the young hero. Formerly, B, together with the closing passages of A, served to introduce sufficiently the hero; but with the disappearance of A, B no longer had anything to lean upon. It was left to shift for itself, and, true to its nature, turned, in the general dissolution that was coming over the cycle, to the nearest poem that seemed to be preserving its identity, to D. Yet B could not assume the position of an *incidence* to D, for the reason that the hero was

the same in the two poems. The blending of the two was the nearest approach possible to the relation of *incidence* to *major*. In this way, the public was better prepared to feel the desired sympathy and admiration for Vivien than if D had subsisted alone, supposing this to have been possible. The moment was indeed a critical one for the legend of Vivien. Originally perhaps independent, at the earliest stage at which we can catch a glimpse of this legend it was subject to that of Aïmer, which was made subject in turn to that of Guillaume. It is this latter stage which is represented by the *Nerbonesi*. In the dissolution of the primitive cycle of Guillaume at Orange, the legend of Aïmer fell into dust and was forgotten. Was the subject legend of Vivien to share in this absolute ruin? Was its union with the legend of Guillaume already sufficiently vital for some part of it, at least, to escape destruction? The answer which events brought to this question was favorable to the legend of Vivien; indeed, this legend itself may have aided powerfully to preserve portions of that of Guillaume which might otherwise have been lost. If to-day the Orange branch of the cycle of Guillaume is superior to that of the northern Guillaume, if *Aliscans* is superior to the *Couronnement Looy*s, it is probably due in great part to the legend of Vivien.

Certain things in B and D seemed to render a fusion difficult. For example, B closed with a victory for the Christians, D with a fearful disaster; the uncle in B was Aïmer, in D Guillaume. As for this latter point, the process of centralization had long tended doubtless to favor Guillaume at the expense of his brother. In proportion as the one supplanted the other, the scene of Vivien's exploits, which had been Spain, began to shift towards Orange, until the popular opinion of the critics to-day places the battle, in which Vivien found his death, near Orange! As for the conflict between B and D in the difference of their ending, the present *Covenant* bears witness to this still. Critics complain because the hero seems needlessly sacrificed; he was in a stronghold where he

had but to remain ; aid was coming ; all at once, most inopportunately and absurdly, he rushes out and meets death. We all feel impatience at this. A few hours longer, and all would have been well. The explanation of this difficulty in the *Covenant* is that the poem had to end with the destruction of the young hero.

Our theory that B and D were fused together can be tested by its application to the inconsistencies of the *Covenant*.

CHAPTER V

APPLICATION OF THEORY TO INCONSISTENCIES OF COVENANT VIVIEN

We shall now take up in their order the inconsistencies that have been mentioned at the beginning of this study.

1. Vivien has waged war for seven years in Spain, yet the Emir appears to know nothing of this fact.

The seven years seem to be taken from B, where the time of Vivien's stay in "Portugal" (see *Nerbonesi*⁶⁴ 1, p. 486; cf. 484, 476, etc.), is said to have been seven years. The surprise of the Emir is at the invasion of D, which came as recounted in the *Covenant*, suddenly.

2. As we have already said, the second difficulty, mentioned by Mr. Becker, is not, properly speaking, a difficulty at all. One may feel impatience with Vivien for not informing his uncle, but one is apt to forget the vow on which Vivien's conduct is supposed to be based, which he explains to his men in lines 425-429. The device of the poem is a sufficient answer to this alleged difficulty:

Ou ci morrai, ou ci demorrai vis!

(416)

3. The vagueness of the topography of the poem. Mr. Becker asserts that the scene of the battlefield, for instance, can only be made clear to us by the help of *Aliscans*.

There is no doubt of this vagueness. The scene of *Aliscans*, however, as the above-mentioned critic recognizes in a later work,

⁶⁴For brevity's sake, we shall henceforth refer to the *Nerbonesi* as N.

is equally vague,⁶⁵ hence the allusion to the topographical side-lights of *Aliscans* is unfortunate. If we suppose the *Covenant* to be a blending of two different poems, whose action takes place in different sites, the vagueness mentioned need not surprise. It stands to reason, further, that, in proportion as Vivien becomes drawn into the circle of Orange and away from that of Aïmer, the confusion can only increase.

4. If Girart had so recently come to Orange to announce the predicament of Vivien, it is difficult to understand the surprise of Guibor in *Aliscans* at the tragic ending of the expedition.

In accordance with our theory, the messenger did not go originally to Orange. Vivien sent news to his uncle months ahead that the attack was being prepared, and Guillaume went with his army to Barcelona, in order to be near at hand.⁶⁶ We shall take this up again under 16 and 17.

5. The confusion in the enumeration of the cousins of Vivien. Certain cousins are said to set out with him, who, we learn later, are not with him, but at Orange.

Nothing is more confusing than the matter of the companions of our young hero. The contradiction is absolute. We believe that this confusion is due to a mingling of the lists of companions in the two separate sources, B and D. In B, there appear seven cousins besides Vivien, all of whom, save Berengier, fils d'Aïmer, appear in the *Covenant*. Three of these cousins, Gui, Girart, and Guichart, accompany the hero in D.⁶⁷ All of the French names appear in N., save Guibert de Sargoce, of whom nothing is known.

⁶⁵ *Quellenwert*, p. 42, note 3.

⁶⁶ N., vol. II, p. 146: *cf. Foucon*, p. 6. See our remarks later with regard to difficulty 16.

⁶⁷ These three cousins appear to have been more closely affiliated with Vivien than the others: they are among the four who accompany Aïmer in his first attempt to rescue Vivien in B; it is they who in D and in *Foucon* are taken prisoner, this last being now accepted by the most recent critics as the primitive state of the legend.

Gaudin le Brun, a hero of recent creation, whose presence here naturally surprises the critic, and Hunaut de Saintes.⁶⁸ What more natural than that the two lists should have been confused in the poem formed by uniting B and D? The most momentous result of this, has been the injection into *Aliscans* of a number of heroes who should have no place there, for this epic takes up the same personages whom we meet in the *Covenant*. Among other heroes who are brought to occupy a position not in keeping with the originals, the most important is Bertran. His appearance in the poem we are considering, is due to his presence formerly in B. Because of this, he is given as present in the new poem formed of B and D. This means that he must play a rôle in the defeat of Aliscans. Thus, by a strange alteration of the sources, this hero is made to appear and play an important part in this battle, in which originally he had no share whatever. Furthermore, in this battle, according to the sources, all the companions of Vivien who were not slain, were taken prisoner; hence Bertran, who originally was not even present in the battle, is represented as allowing himself to be taken prisoner like any novice, to be freed later by Renoart! As for the confusing number of cousins that take part in this battle, we see no other explanation than the one here outlined. The critics agree quite generally that, in the primitive source, only three cousins were taken prisoner.⁶⁹ This is the testimony of *Foucon de Candie*.⁷⁰

6. The difficulty of supposing that Vivien can hold out until his uncle can send into many lands to raise an army. We have already stated that, according to our theory, this did not take place as here given. Guillaume, warned long beforehand, had an army ready. We shall return to this later.

⁶⁸ Very little is known of this hero. In the *Siège de Barbastre* he seems to be the son of a sister of Ermangard.

⁶⁹ Becker, *Die altfr. Wilhelmsage*, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Pp. 4, 7, 13, 15, etc.

7. This supposed difficulty is of no importance.

8. Too little use is made of the vow, says M. Jeanroy. This is purely a matter of literary feeling. While acknowledging the admirable advantage drawn from the vow by the remanieur of *Aliscans*,⁷¹ we do not see how the remanieur of the *Covenant* could well have made more use of the romantic vow than he did. Vivien mentions it several times as the guiding principle of his conduct (400-404, 416, 425-429, 478, 790, 1071-1072).

9. Vivien and his men kill their horses for food on arriving at the castle. This act is supposed to be indicative of a long siege. One certainly gets the impression in the poem that the time is short from the departure of the messenger until his arrival at Orange; and the return of Guillaume, his army once ready, seems to take from one to four days. The general impression is that the time passed in the castle is very short, in spite of the assertion that Guillaume sends into many countries for soldiers. If, then, the siege of the castle is brief, say the critics, the killing of the horses for food appears strange, especially if those besieged begin to kill them at once. This indication of a prolonged siege seems to us to come from the source B, where the siege of the castle lasts for several years.⁷²

10. The castle. The castle appears placed in the poem expressly to provide a refuge for Vivien. We learn in lines 734-735, 771, that the walls and the moat are intact, that there is a draw-bridge and a cistern. In short, it seems amazing, incredible even, that the enemy should leave such a fortress undefended, within reach of the Christians. We believe that this is the castle of B, a castle constructed and garrisoned by Vivien, hence offering him an easy and safe refuge. There are indications in N. which explain some things in the passages concerning the castle. For in-

⁷¹ *Romania*, XXVI., p. 199.

⁷² This may be compared with the passage 2271-2277 of the *Enfances*.

stance, in lines 736-738, Vivien says, in proposing that they try to reach the castle :

Franc Chevalier, il est moult pres de vespre.
Se la poons huimes prendre herberge,
Bien nos tendrons ilueques un grant terme.

Jonckbloet, misunderstanding apparently the first of these lines, printed *Vespre* as a proper name. We read, however, in B, that Vivien and his leaders plan to set fire at night to the city where they have been besieged, and, under cover of the darkness and confusion, to cut their way to the castle near by. This is carried out. The allusion to *vespre* is thus clear, and one of the strangest passages in the *Covenant* finds an easy explanation.

11. The inopportune sortie of Vivien. This constitutes certainly one of the most serious difficulties. Probably no critic has ever read the poem without being struck with it.

We explain this difficulty by the necessity of giving a fatal termination to the expedition, since nothing else could comport with D. There are in the *Covenant* two streams quite distinct, one of victory, the other of disaster, coming, respectively, from B and D. Everyone feels that Vivien had only to remain a few hours longer in his fastness to triumph over his enemies; he rushes out, as if on purpose to die. The two streams meet most clearly and dramatically in this episode of the castle.

12. We are surprised and pained that Guillaume and his nephew are separated after they have at last come together.

This might well occasion a long discussion of the question as to whether, originally, the two heroes met at all. Suffice it to say, that, the opinion of the critics, in which we fully concur, is that they never met. The remanieur who wrote the beautiful scene of the death of Vivien in *Aliscans* is probably responsible for the legend that represents them as meeting. The meeting here is a concession to this new version, a concession all the easier because in B Vivien and his rescuer, his uncle Aimer, meet, only after some adventures of tragic interest.

13. It is surprising, says M. Jeanroy, that the death of Vivien, for which we have so long been prepared by the poet, is not recounted in the poem.

Here again, the primitive state of affairs as seen in D, has been altered with a view to *Aliscans*. The death of the hero has been transferred from D to the epic in formation, to *Aliscans*. It might, of course, have been otherwise, and if it had been, the literary symmetry of the *Covenant* would certainly have been enhanced.

14. Vivien seems to have retreated more than once without the poet's being aware that he was breaking his vow, yet in *Aliscans* his retreating the length of a lance is made the occasion of his touching confession at death.

This certainly has the air of an inadvertence. We see in this fact only evidence that the vow was not primitive, but is a later introduction, at least, as it is given in the opening lines of the *Covenant*. The vow in itself is undoubtedly not of the primitive epic stamp, admirable though it be as a literary motif. The sole trace of anything approaching this vow in B or D, is in B, where Vivien, according to the opinion of many, swore never to abandon Monte Argiento: "e dissono molti che Viviano guirò di nollo abbandonare insino alla sua morte."⁷³ From this qualified statement, one who knows Andrea can only conclude that the vow did not occupy the leading position of that in the *Covenant*. Its importance seems no greater than that of the *Enfances Vivien*: see the celebrated passage (lines 2205-2217). Vivien here has just repelled an attack against the city. He calls for relics, and swears on them never to retreat half the length of a lance, nor two feet even, before the Saracens. The editors of the *Enfances*, and other scholars, have seen in this passage an awkward imitation of the *Covenant*.⁷⁴ They assert that the vow never to retreat is ill-placed

⁷³N., vol. I, p. 469.

⁷⁴*Enfances Vivien*, p. XXVI; *Romania*, XXVI, p. 187.

at a moment when the hero is in such mortal danger. For our part, we are not of the opinion of the critics. The vow as given here appears to us much more likely to be primitive, and to have a more natural air, than that of the *Covenant*. A lesser hero might make such a vow at a time when danger was remote, but for the young and courageous Vivien, so *desmesuré*, this is a most fitting moment for such splendid folly, not to speak of the effect of his courage and seeming confidence on his men.

The Ms. de Boulogne announces at its close the adoubement of Vivien 4810-4823; a description of this ceremony is to be found at the end of Ms. A. M. Jeanroy is of the opinion that this description cannot be complete, for there is no mention of any vow.⁷⁵ This raises the interesting question whether the vow can have existed in what M. Jeanroy calls the primitive *Covenant*. If there was an ancient poem recounting the *enfances* of our hero, the ceremony in question and the vow could not have begun this poem, because of the very meaning of the word *enfances*. If, however, this poem occupied the position of the present *Covenant*,—that is, a recital of exploits subsequent to adoubement,—it might have begun with the vow. The natural position of the ceremony, judging by parallels, would be at the close, as in the *Enfances Vivien*. We are inclined to believe that the adoubement took place originally at the close of the poem represented in Andrea by B, or in an equivalent position, which is the place in the present *Enfances*, and that there was no vow as given in the *Covenant*.

15. According to the words: "Filz fu Garin," Garin was dead at the moment when these words were said. When we find later, in Vivien's mouth, the statement: "Filz sui Garin," we wonder if the contradiction is accidental or real.

Following up this point, we are led to ask whether the hero's father was alive during the time of action of both B and D. He was alive in B, for he served with Vivien to deliver Orange,

⁷⁵ *Romania*, l. c., p. 197, note 1.

where he lost his life. Thus he was dead at the time represented by D. Unless, therefore, the employment of these expressions is purely chance, it may be asked what bearing the facts of B and D, just mentioned, would have if carried out to their full conclusion. Can it be that the first two passages come from D, although placed at the beginning of the *Covenant*, and that the last comes from B, although at the end? This is not altogether improbable. We have already stated that the evidence led us to think that the lines in question in the first case came from D, where the sudden invasion of Vivien, at a moment of peace, may well have surprised as here presented, the Emir (see p. 39 of this study). Again, if we apply the same reasoning to the last passage we have mentioned, it may repose on a similar one formerly existing in B or some redaction of B, at the point where Vivien and his other uncle, Aïmer, or some other relative, meet in battle. Whether or not this be the explanation, the above passages have a most curious air.

16. The mention of "Bordelois."

This passage is certainly a peculiar one. Why is "Bordelois" mentioned? We have already hinted that we do not believe that the messenger went originally to Orange. Can it be that he was represented in some earlier redaction as going to "Bordelois?" We think this to be the case. In the first place, N. states that Guillaume, warned by his nephew that a formidable attack of the Saracens was imminent, gathered an army and marched to Barcelona, in order to be near at hand in case of sudden need. We are told also in *Foucon* of Guillaume:

De Barzelone quant il issit sousiez,
 De la maisnie mena o lui del miez,
 L. X. M. as buens helmes vergiez,
 Toz les ont mors piens et detranchiez,
 Et Vivien nous y ont mort laissiez.

(Pp. 6, 7, edition Tarbé.)

The name of the city is given in one Ms. as *Bartelouze*; the same Ms. spells the name *Bartoloze*, in a variant cited on p. 41. It seems to us conclusive that the mention of *Bordelois* in this passage of the *Covenant* is of the utmost value for the critic, and that we have here preserved evidence not to be refuted of the organic connection between D and the *Covenant*.

It is interesting, in connection with this passage, to examine a similar one (lines 1452-1466). Vivien thinks he hears a noise from towards Orange and draws the attention of his men to it, adding that he believes it is Guillaume. His men reply that they hear the noise and can see the lances in the direction of Orange; but that it is very probably the rear-guard of Desramé, in which case, they are lost. A few lines further on, Desramé hears the noise:

Dist Desramez: "Or oez mon semblant.
 Quiex genz sont ce qui ci viennent poignant;
 Assez est tost Tiebautz li rois poissanz,
 De la navie m'amaine secors grant.

(1525-1528.)

We believe these passages are taken from B, and if we are correct, nothing shows more conclusively how thoroughly the two sources, B and D, are blended. The moment seems to us to be the one in B when the relieving army of Aïmer appears, accompanied by Bertran and other cousins of Vivien. As for the substitution of Guillaume for Aïmer, we shall try to show later that this has taken place throughout the *Covenant*, save as we may hereafter qualify this statement. But what of the mention of Tibaut? We learn in N., where the events that we denominate B are recounted,⁷⁶ that at the time when Vivien was besieged in Monte Argiento, his uncle, Guillaume, was besieged by Tibaut at Orange. Tibaut took an interest in the attack against Vivien, and had sent his brother, l'Alpatrice, with an army, to aid in his destruction. It was understood evidently that whichever Saracen army finished

⁷⁶ N., vol. I, pp. 470, 471, 499.

first its campaign should hasten to the help of the other.⁷⁷ Hence Desramé thinks that Tibaut has taken Orange, and is coming to his aid against Vivien. In the last line cited above, we believe that there was originally some mention of Orange, such as: *D'Orange prise* instead of *De la navie*, although, to be sure, the latter reading could be made to fit the interpretation suggested, for the army could arrive by sea.⁷⁸

17. Vivien tells the messenger that his uncle has an army ready at Orange or at "Bordelois." When the messenger arrives, he finds that this is not so.

This contradiction is real and is most surprising. As for Vivien's statement, it evidently reposes upon the facts as given in D; namely, that his uncle has an army ready at Barcelona. How can we explain the fact that he has no army? Can it be an alteration made to heighten the influence and importance of Guibor, whose affection for Vivien, as it appears in *Aliscans*, constitutes one of the main elements of tragic feeling? We think not. The passage seems rather to be taken from the action of the poem in its ancient form, and, indeed, contains, in our opinion, evidence tending to prove that this ancient form was as in N. That is, the passage relates simply the state of Guillaume's finances and military

⁷⁷Traces of this are probably to be seen in the following passages of the *Covenant*: 217-220; 546-550.

⁷⁸The question as to whether Vivien's mention of Orange in the passage 1452-1466 is from B or D would be a most interesting one to follow out. If from B, we must suppose that he knew of the siege of Orange and had reasonable hope that his uncle would rescue him. In N, there is no evidence that he knew of any siege of Orange, nor does the young hero seem filled with love for his uncle Guillaume, since it is necessary to promise him that all the Narbonnois will help him to conquer a realm to induce him to set out for the relief of Orange. Furthermore, the legend of Vivien was first attached to that of Aimer. The further back we go in the legend, the less likely it seems that he knew or cared what took place at Orange. As for the source D, Guillaume was here at Barcelona, and not at Orange.

equipment at the moment when, as in D, the messenger came announcing that the enemies of Vivien, Tibaut at their head, were gathering to attack him. Guillaume is warned to prepare an army to march to Vivien's aid in case of need. Is there any evidence that Guillaume was really in such financial straits that Guibor was obliged to provide the wherewithal for the expedition? There is some such evidence. According to several Mss. — d, C, L—Guibor asks Guillaume, in line 1847, *Aliscans*, where the troops are which she entrusted him with. The reading of d, for instance, which, by the way, contains more primitive readings in our opinion than any other Ms., is as follows for this line and the one preceding:

Et li barnages de la tere des Frans,
Que te baillai quant de ci fuiz tornans?

This is the *barnage* of line 841 of the *Covenant*. The conclusion seems clear that originally in D, Guillaume was unable to form an army without the help of Guibor.

This suggests the question whether in the legend of Aïmer there was a female figure corresponding to Guibor in the *Covenant*, where her rôle is so sympathetic and effective. In the absence of sources, we can only conjecture the possibility of some such heroine, who may have served as Vivien's foster-mother. That such a woman would belong to the household of Aïmer is likely, for we find in N. that Vivien appears, at the stage of his legend represented in N., attached to Aïmer. Indeed, the early scene of Vivien's exploits is clearly Spain, which was also Aïmer's. Under this supposition, the connection between Vivien and Guillaume and Guibor belongs to the latest stage of the legend of Vivien. As for us, we believe that Vivien, originally an independent hero, was made subject to the cycle of Aïmer, and was said to be a nephew by a sister; that Aïmer dubbed him knight in his palace at Termes; that with the elimination of Aïmer, he was ascribed to Guillaume, and was ultimately said to be the son of Garin. If this be true, the touching and exquisite *laisse* in *Alis-*

cans, 767-777, *Quant t'adoubai en mon palais à Termes, etc.*, was spoken originally by Aïmer. In fact, this *laisse* is the only one in *Aliscans* which is in assonance. Furthermore, Aïmer, according to N., had a son called Gautier, who may well be the Gautier de Termes who appears in *Aliscans* and in the *Covenant* at a point to suit the presence according to B of Aïmer's son.

18. The apparent nearness of the scene of battle to Orange.

This point brings up the question of the geography of the poem, and merits a much longer examination than we can devote to it here. It stands to reason, that, if the scene of the battle is in Spain, as the *Covenant* gives it, Guillaume and his army cannot ride thither in from one to four days. The testimony of *Aliscans* in this matter gives one the idea that the battlefield was near Orange. As Guillaume approaches Orange, closely pursued by the Saracens, he says of the city

A com grant joie m'en issi avant ier.

(1560.)

So apparent does it seem that the scene of Vivien's defeat is in the neighborhood of Orange, that all the critics so place it, going at times to most ridiculous lengths to discover natural objects and proper names near Orange to substantiate, as they think, the poems!

The reason for the blunders of the critics has been a failure to grasp the genesis of *Aliscans* and the related poems. When it is once seen that Vivien had Spain as the original scene of his exploits; that his legend was divorced from that of Aïmer, to be linked with that of Guillaume d'Orange; that, in the great changes that came over the cycle, the fact was omitted that Guillaume went to Barcelona with an army in order to be ready to aid his nephew; that, on the contrary, he was represented as remaining in Orange until the arrival of the messenger,—it will then be clear that the geography of the *Covenant* and of *Aliscans*, as the critics have given it, is fantastical and historically wrong. Nor is evidence

lacking in various sources that supports this assertion. We have seen the *Covenant* itself declare that the battle was in Spain; in *Foucon de Candie* similarly.⁷⁹ The testimony of N. favors Spain, the *Enfances Vivien* places the hero's exploits in Spain, and certain passages mention even Galice, name known to the account of N., and also of the *Roman d'Arles*. In the testimony of *Aliscans*, there is not the slightest trace of a natural object, such as the Rhone, which might indicate the neighborhood of Orange or of Arles. Indeed, to one reading this poem in an unprejudiced way, there are many passages which would speak rather in favor of Spain.⁸⁰

To conclude this point: the remanieurs have omitted to send Guillaume to Spain with an army, that he might be ready in case of attack, and they have preserved the time-record of the original. The messenger is thus represented as riding to Orange from Spain with as much ease and despatch as to Barcelona, and, in the same way, the army of relief arrives at the scene of operations. The geographical confusion of the related ancient poems contains the key to the genesis of the poems still extant.

19. It has been found convenient to discuss this difficulty in connection with 16, *q. v.*

20. Vivien says that if he does not perform certain deeds of prowess, *ains ne fui nies Aymeri ne Guillelme*. In spite of the extended sense of which this word *nies* is capable, this passage has an impossible air, inasmuch as the first person mentioned is his grandfather, the second, his uncle.

⁷⁹ We shall cite only two passages: p. 6, fourth line from the bottom; and p. 83, where Tibaut speaks of the death of Vivien in one of the most valuable passages in the entire poem:

Mais Tortelouse lor fis je comparer :
De Vivien, ainsi l'oi ge nommer,
Lor fis damage.

⁸⁰ For instance, the *laisse* commencing in line 563. The last two lines of this *laisse* are to be taken literally. Similarly, the word *sardaingne*, in line 578, a word which has not a little puzzled the ingenuity of the critics, is from Cerdaña, a region of Catalonia, in the Pyrenees.

It is our belief that *Aymer* instead of *Aymeri* stood formerly in this passage, and in many others. In the first place, it is strange that the only brother whose exploits had Spain as their theatre should be unmentioned in a poem where his nephew invades Spain, wars there for seven years, and dies there! We find mentioned in the *Covenant*, besides Guillaume, Hernaut, Garin, Bovon, and Guibert,—in short, all the uncles of Vivien, save Bernard and Aïmer. The legend ascribing to the last-mentioned hero the conquest of *Espagne la grant* is so universal, that this omission here where we should least look for it, naturally surprises us. We believe that his name was omitted designedly, and that it formerly replaced that of *Aymeri* in the following passages:

Forment maudit Aymeri et Guillelme.

(*Cov.*, 156.)

Ne ja reproche n'en aura Aymeris,

Guïbor la bele, Guillaumes li marchis.

(413-414.)

Bien pert qu'il est del lignaige Aymeri.

(517.)

Dolanz en iert Aymeris et Guillelmes,

Guïberz li rous, et tuit cil de sa geste.

(623, 624.)

Quant le saura Aymeris au vis fier,

Et dans Guillaumes et Guïbor sa moillier.

(794, 795.)

It is true that our argument applies only to passages that may come from B, or that may have undergone the influence of B, for Aïmer was dead at the time of D. A passage, such as line 156, however, might have borne even originally the name Aïmer, and have belonged to D.

For what reason, if any, should Aïmer have been eliminated from the *Covenant*? According to our theory, this poem was formed by a blending of two different sources, in the first of which, B, the hero in question played a rôle, but not in D, the

second, inasmuch as he died in the events that closed B. It is clear, then, that he might be retained in the resultant poem, and play a rôle throughout it, or that he might have been eliminated. In the first case, his activity would have been extended from the portions of the new poem coming from B to those coming from D. In the second case, he would need only to be eliminated from the portions coming from B. Normally, the former condition would prevail: it would be easier to find something for an important hero to do during a part of a composition in which he did not originally appear, than to eliminate him from the remainder in which he filled one of the most important places, as did Aïmer in B. As we have seen, however, the latter of the above possibilities prevailed: Aïmer was eliminated, so much so, that his name does not even appear in the composite poem. There must have been powerful reasons for the reversal of what would have been, as we have said, the normal action. Why was he eliminated?

We have already said that, in our opinion, the *Covenant* marks the sloughing off from the cycle of Aïmer of the legend of Vivien, and its soldering to that of Guillaume. If we are correct in this supposition, nothing would be more natural than this disappearance of the former hero, provided his retirement paved the way for the second. And this is precisely the fact: Vivien henceforth becomes so absolutely a part of the cycle of Guillaume, that he is said to have been reared by Guibor, presumably at Orange; that he is supposed to have been knighted in her presence, probably at Orange; that the majority of the critics place the origin of his legend in the neighborhood of Orange, at Arles. This substitution of Guillaume was all the easier, because in D, Aïmer did not appear at all, whereas his brother played a most important rôle. While, therefore, the activity of Guillaume was extended over the events of B, in as far as they were utilized in the new epic, that of Aïmer disappeared in these same events.

In what we have said above, reasons have been given why the substitution of Guillaume for his brother was almost inevita-

ble. But this does not explain why the name of Aymeri should replace that of Aïmer.

It appears to us that these two changes go hand in hand. Aïmer seems to have been replaced by Guillaume in passages where he performed acts, by Aymeri in passages which image and typify the idea of family. One need only examine with this in mind the passages cited above from the *Covenant*. They all concern the *fier lignage*; furthermore, they all speak of members of the family who are absent at the moment in question. While it is true that nothing better epitomizes the family in this case than the grandfather's name, this fact applies only to late poems. In the stage of the geste represented by N., the grandfather is a matter of entire indifference to Vivien; he even has little interest in Guillaume, so little that it is with difficulty that he is persuaded to march to the relief of Orange.⁸¹ The great patron and friend of Vivien is Aïmer. He it is who tries to save the imprudent young hero when all others refuse; who, beaten back once, returns to the charge with a new army. After his death, and then only, in N., do we see Vivien closely in touch with Guillaume. Hence it is that the name of Aïmer instead of Aymeri, in the above passages, would have such a natural air, in view of the elements we are discussing. Separated from his dear uncle, Aïmer, besieged in the heart of the enemy's country, what more natural than that the young hero should speak many times of this uncle? In the light of this explanation, the lines 1855, 1856, which have been cited, have a full and convincing ring, if the name of the grandfather be replaced by that of the grandson:

Se ge n'abat des meillor de lor terre,
Ainz ne fui niés Aïmer ne Guillelme!

We are inclined to think that the substitution of Aymeri was intentional. Except for this trait, the present *Covenant* may well have been the result of a slow, unconscious blending. The sub-

⁸¹ N., vol. I, p. 498.

stitution of which we speak, however, seems to have been carried out blindly, systematically. This substitution was all the easier because of the resemblance between the names. We believe even that this substitution is responsible for the presence in *Aliscans* of Aymeri,—a most surprising fact. For the *Covenant* and parts of *Aliscans* are virtually one and the same tissue, we might almost say, one and the same poem. This, however, is not the moment for a long and intricate digression, even although its evidence might support our contention.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It thus appears that our theory concerning the origin of the present *Covenant* explains wholly or in large part the important inconsistencies of the poem, to-wit: the hero's having waged war seven years in Spain, without the Emir's seeming to be aware of the fact; the vagueness of the topography, which is a blending of two different fields of battle; the matter of Guibor's surprise at the disaster; the confusion in the enumeration of Vivien's companions; the difficulty of Guillaume's raising an army in time; the killing of the horses in the newly-besieged castle; the presence of the castle in the recital; the inopportune sortie of Vivien; the separation of Vivien and his uncle, after they have at last come together; the passages that seem to have Vivien retreat, in spite of his vow; the words: *filz fu Garin*, and *filz sui Garin*; the mention of "Bordelois;" the army that Vivien says his uncle has in readiness, when we learn that he has made no preparations: the impossibility of an army riding from Orange to Spain and fighting a battle in the short time mentioned; the noise of the approaching army "from towards Orange," the strange and constant use of the name of Aymeri,⁸² etc. We have seen, too, that the theory of the dual origin of the *Covenant* explains a number of passages in *Aliscans* as well.

We mention here, merely for the form, a few more of the passages in the *Covenant* which seem to preserve traces of the events of B and D as related in N. In line 423, Vivien gives his men

⁸²To avoid digressing, we have omitted showing that this explanation applies equally to *Aliscans*, settling once for all the vexed question of the appearance there of Aymeri.

permission to leave him if they wish; this is to be compared with N., vol. 1, p. 478, where we learn of the departure of seven thousand of his men. The statement made in line 279 that Vivien has twenty thousand men, whereas he was said at the beginning to have only half that number, is explained by the testimony of D: see N., vol. 2, p. 152. Similarly, the twenty thousand said to be with Guillaume, line 743, is borne out by the data from the same source, p. 160. Lines 1337, 1342 indicate rather the setting of an army with fixed camps, as in a siege, and does not fit the situation as given in the poem, namely, that of an army which has just landed, but is understandable from the testimony of B: see N., vol. 1, pp. 472, 473, 484-486, 495, 496. The allusion to St. Jaque de Campostelle in line 1762 is much more appropriate in the light of the geography of N., whose testimony is, as frequently, supported by the *Enfances Vivien*. Line 445 is doubtless a trace of the scene in D, recounted in N., 2, p. 158. From the passage beginning in line 1374, we infer that Vivien must have been familiar with the armor of his adversary, which would hardly be the case in a battle with an unknown foe, newly landed. The lines refer to some such duel as that with the Alpatrice (N., 1, p. 486, or 505). The matter of the number of Vivien's men, which seems very confused in the French poem, receives valuable elucidation from N. The statement that he sets out with ten thousand men is borne out by B (*cf. Covenant*, l. 55; N., 1, p. 462). This statement, that the hero had ten thousand men is repeated in the following passages of the *Covenant*, 331, 358, 1057, 1079, 1092. Vivien's band is reduced in the battle, until we read in lines 453, 454, that few remain. The operations which thus reduce the forces of the Christians seem to have lasted only one day when the number is already reduced to fifteen hundred (lines 762-764, *cf.* 675). In line 1093, we are told that only five hundred remain; in line 1412, three hundred, in line 1556, from one to three score. This appears to be the size of Vivien's band at the moment when his uncle arrives. The number of those who succeed in penetrating into the castle is fif-

teen hundred (764). All this seems reasonable. Now for the contradictions. We learn that Vivien attacked with ten thousand, yet in line 763 it is stated that his men numbered, when the battle began that morning, three thousand. Again, in line 279, Vivien is said to have had, at the time when the Saracens landed to attack him, twenty thousand. We explain these difficulties by the testimony of B and of D. In B, Vivien has indeed ten thousand on beginning his expedition. Besieged in Galizia, he loses men all the time, until, at the moment of cutting his way to the castle, he has only one thousand (N., I, p. 478). In the castle were already five hundred (p. 469). This makes fifteen hundred who are in the castle at the moment when its siege begins (*cf.* the *Covenant*, line 764, where this number is also given). This reduction of the ten thousand in B is the result of several long campaigns, and not of one day's battle, which is more reasonable. But whence comes the number, twenty thousand, of line 279? This seems to us to be due to a confusion with the recital of D. We learn, in fact, that there Vivien actually had this number at the moment when began the fatal battle of one day, in which he was to lose his life (N., 2, p. 152). Turning now to the number of Guillaume's men as given in the *Covenant*, how does this square with the evidence of D? We read in 743 that Guillaume has twenty thousand men ready. In line 1142, Guillaume is said to have raised ten thousand men; in line 1220, he, together with his nephews who have levied troops, sets out with twenty thousand. According to the testimony of D, it was with this number that he sets out to the aid of Vivien (N., II, pp. 160 ss). In short, D supports here the *Covenant*. Again, in the *Covenant*, it is stated several times that Guillaume and Bertran divide their forces, and each advances with ten thousand men (lines 1484, 1485, 1500, 1504, 1514, 1570, 1574, 1588, 1605, 1740). This is evidently the same action as is related in D, where the messenger, Girart, who is conducting Guillaume to the field of battle, receives a portion of the army, while his uncle takes the rest (N., II, p. 163). For the presence of Bertran here and his

substitution for Girart, see our discussion of the seventeenth difficulty, page 48 of this study.

One of the puzzling problems of the *Covenant* and of *Aliscans* is the presence, as chief of the Saracens, of Desramé. The critics have clearly seen that the legend of the taking of Orange and of Guibor should be followed by a poem or series of poems concerning the attempts of the wronged Tibaut to avenge himself.⁸³ That is, Guillaume and Tibaut were evidently the protagonists of several early poems; everything indicates that their hatred of each other was the motif of epic narrations which have disappeared. It is surprising to find, especially in *Aliscans*, another hero occupying the position of Guillaume's chief and most bitter foe. The sources as they exist, indeed, try to motivate this hostility on the part of Desramé by depicting him as the uncle of Tibaut, which only shows how widely spread must have been the knowledge of the hatred between these heroes. Unfortunately, the *Covenant*, examined as to its dual source, does not throw much light on the question of the appearance of this new Saracen protagonist—or, rather, as we prefer to put it—his substitution for Tibaut. The substitution in *Aliscans*—which may of course have occasioned that of the poem we are examining—seems to us due mainly to the fact that the Saracen hero of the *Renoart* was Desramé, and that this hero replaced Tibaut in the new poem, *Aliscans*, one of whose main component elements was the *Renoart*. In other words, the *Renoart* having been fused, in the lapse of time, with other sources to form a new poem, the Saracen leader of the *Renoart* was adopted as the type in the new epic, and ended by effacing all others. If this theory be true, it gives evidence of the popularity of the *Renoart*, and of the waning of the legend of Tibaut. The *Covenant*, as we have said, may simply have followed *Aliscans*; nothing, indeed, would have been more inevitable. This change from Tibaut to Desramé

⁸³ See, for instance, *Quellenwert*, etc., pp. 34, 35.

would have been facilitated by the fact that according to the testimony of N., a Saracen hero named Malduche di Rames, a relative of Tibaut, played a rôle in the events of A (the *Siège*) and in those of D.: see N., I, pp. 417 (variant in note 7), 418, 433, 502; vol. II., pp. 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 159, 206, 222, etc.⁸⁴ The value of this evidence is, to be sure, not great. Far more convincing is that submitted briefly in our discussion of difficulty number sixteen; evidence which substantiates that of B., in showing that, at the moment in question, Tibaut was besieging Orange, as is related in A and B.

While we are speaking of external evidence as to Tibaut's presence or absence in the primitive sources whence came the *Covenant*, is there any testimony other than that of N. throwing light on this point? *Foucon de Candie* gives evidence that Tibaut was present, and, indeed, in a commanding position, at the battle where Vivien died; on p. 83 of the edition of Tarbé, he boasts of having slain Vivien in this battle; and further testimony is found on p. 86, where the statement is made that Tibaut, in the conversation just related, boasted of having slain Vivien.

Molt menace Guillaume, le conte poigneur,
Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror.

There remains at least one other passage in the *Covenant* which seems to us to offer evidence that Tibaut, and not Desramé, was the adversary in the original sources of this poem. We refer to lines 1681-1691. Here are the statements of this passage: the friends of Desramé say to him: "Have no fear! This day we shall deliver to you the damnable traitor who has worked you such injury, and who took away from Tibaut his wife and his city! This day Guillaume shall lose his power, and you shall have him at your disposal. Later, you can take him to your city, Palerne, and judge him there according to our custom!" In this passage, the name Palerne may offer evidence permitting us to decide whether

⁸⁴ Cf. *Aliscans*, 5080.

these words were addressed primitively to Desramé, as here stated, or to another. Of what Saracen king was Palerne the seat? The city in question is mentioned in *Aliscans* in the following passages: 5078, 1398; 5244; 1475; 3260; 1853; also in Rolin's edition *varianten* line 355.⁸⁵ The first two passages and the last are the only ones that offer any testimony as to the point in question. It appears according to these passages that Palerne was the seat of Synagon, who is said to have held Guillaume prisoner there for a long time.⁸⁶ In *Foucon de Candie* Palerne is ascribed to Tibaut: see pp. 108, 133 (*Et Palerne la riche qu'il prist o sa moillier*), 137. It is clear, then, that *Aliscans* ascribes Palerne to Synagon, while one poem at least, *Foucon*, ascribes it to Tibaut. No source, as far as we know, ascribes it to Desramé⁸⁷, save the *Covenant* in the passage under discussion⁸⁸. Aside from this passage, it is a choice between Tibaut and Synagon. We believe that the mention of the latter in this connection is due to his substitution here for Tibaut, whom the remanieurs, it is apparent, desired for some reason to eliminate from the action of *Aliscans*. That Tibaut, the lifelong enemy of Guillaume, must have been present at the siege of Orange and at the battle, stands to reason. Indeed, in line 1776, at the moment when the siege begins, he is named among the Saracen kings present. If he was present, none but a commanding position could have been given him, in view of his legendary prowess and his hatred against Guillaume. Hence he would have been among those honored with one of the divisions of the army. In other words, he would be men-

⁸⁵ Cf. the following lines in edition of Jonckbloet: 37, 1619, 1701, 2095, 3502, 5343, 6300, 7550.

⁸⁶ From this passage came the Synagon episode in the *Moniage* 11.

⁸⁷ Indeed, if we may judge by what Renoart relates of himself in the passage beginning in line 7529, edition of Jonckbloet, Palerne cannot have been the seat of Desramé. We do not lay emphasis on this testimony, for the legend of Renoart is too recent to make this evidence of great value.

⁸⁸ To this should be added the lines 34-36, *Aliscans*, edition Jonckbloet, cf. variations in Rolin. We shall discuss this passage in a moment.

tioned in the passage cited (lines 5069-5096). He is not mentioned here, save by one Ms., *m*, line 5080. We believe that throughout the poem an effort has been made to eliminate Tibaut, and that here in the muster of the Saracen army his name has been replaced (save in *m*) by that of one Synagon, who is said to have been lord of Palerne (lines 5076-5079). There is no external evidence of sufficient age to be pertinent which ascribes a rôle in this poem to a hero Synagon. On the contrary, N., in the passage containing the muster for the battle, mentions Tibaut, and knows nothing whatever of Synagon⁸⁹. Furthermore, N. states that Tibaut retained in his division his brother, l'Alpatrice. We see, in fact, in line 5238 *ss.*, where the Christians penetrate to the tents of the Aupatri, that they are attacked by those from Palerne and by Synagon.

A number of the best Mss. contain another passage of importance touching Palerne. This passage is found in Jonckbloet's edition, lines 34-37:

Atant ez vos Desramé lor seignor,
 Sus la breaigne qui li cort de vigor.
 Cil sont o lui d'Inde Superior,
 Et de Palerne, et li estraenor,
 C'est une gent qui vers Deu n'a amor.
 Un espié portent par molt ruiste freor,
 Dont si ont mort maint gentil vavator,
 Lui et Tacon, le fil de sa seror.

It is apparent enough that the last two lines have something wrong about them, and we are convinced of this when we see that the following Mss. offer a reading visibly more correct, and evidently more primitive: M, m, d, L, C. Here is the reading of these Mss. for the two lines in question:

Dont il ot mort maint gentil vavator,
 Et a Guillaume le fil de sa seror.

⁸⁹ I, p. 502. Synagon is totally unknown to N.

Le fil de sa seror is none other than Vivien⁹⁰, who, as we know, before being ascribed to Guillaume as nephew by Garin, was said to have been the son of a sister to Guillaume. Desramé, then, is here said to have slain Vivien. We are reminded instantly of the passage already cited from *Foucon*, where it is stated of Tibaut

Molt menace Guillaume, le conte poigneur,
Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror.

The evidence seems to us to indicate overwhelmingly that Palerne was the seat of Tibaut, and that in the passage mentioned in the *Covenant* (1681-1691) we have evidence indicating the substitution of Desramé for Tibaut. All of this supports the testimony of N. A close examination of all the passages in the two epics where Desramé appears, give further evidence of this substitution. This is not, however, the moment for so long a digression as a discussion of this evidence would require.

A number of other passages could be adduced, which receive for the first time their full meaning in the light of the theory under discussion, that of the dual origin of the *Covenant*. Enough passages have probably already been mentioned, however, to leave in the reader's mind the conviction that this theory offers the true explanation of the inconsistencies of the poem. A full discussion of the cyclic difficulties of the *Covenant* would be sufficient to convince the most obdurate that this epic is really formed by the fusion of the two ancient poems whose events are related by Andrea da Barberino. The supposition of this fusion as we have given it offers at last a tenable explanation of the strange use of the words "Archant" and "Aliscans" as equivalents. The first comes from the source B, the second from D. When these sources blent into the new poem, the *Covenant*, and overflowed, as it were, forming the beginning of another new poem, *Aliscans*, these words had lost their special application. The new poems spoke only of one battle,

⁹⁰ The bearing of this upon the question as to whether Guillaume saw Vivien before his death, is apparent.

of only one battlefield, yet gave to them, now the name employed in source B, now that in source D. The use of these two names for the same battlefield had metrical advantages not to be scorned, especially when arrived the period for abandoning assonance for rhyme. Nothing could be more typical of the intimate and complete fusion of B and D than the current synonymous employment of these words in *Aliscans* and the *Covenant*. An interesting conclusion to be drawn from all this, is that if the second battlefield had been called the Archant, the poem *Aliscans* would, in all probability, have borne this name as its title. Reasoning inversely, the fact that this admirable poem bears the name it does, indicates the order in which B and D were sung, their interrelation, which was correctly maintained by the jongleurs to the very last.

The element of D seems to us more important in the *Covenant* than that of B and naturally so. Not only was the latter an *incidence*, a slight and fragile structure, but it was inferior in tragic power to D, less firmly fixed in the imagination of men.

In the light of this theory, is one warranted in speaking of the battle of the *Covenant* as "the battle of Aliscans"? We answer, no! The struggle described in our poem is a blending of a number of battles and duels in B with the battle in D. Indeed, the major part of the battle of the *Covenant* is probably drawn from the expedition of Vivien into Portugal.

In conclusion, the *Covenant Vivien* affords one of the most interesting examples of the fusion of related poems. Fortunately, we have preserved enough external evidence to enable us, by combining this with internal evidence, to behold the process of epic fusion going on almost before our eyes. With only the internal evidence, we should be helpless, and we feel, on closing such an investigation, how many of the mysteries of literary history can never be solved for lack of due external evidence. Had a lover of old poems living at Florence, five hundred years ago, not set down a certain tale, the mysterious origin of the *Covenant Vivien* would never even have been suspected!





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